

FROISSART IN BRITAIN

BY

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AUTHOR OF "ADMIRALS ALL," "THE ISLAND RACE,"
"STORIES FROM FROISSART," ETC.

WITH TWENTY-FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS FROM
ORIGINALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE most profitable thing in this world for the institution of the human life is history. The continual reading thereof maketh young men equal in prudence to old men, and to old fathers stricken in age it ministereth experience of things. More, it yieldeth private persons worthy of dignity, rule, and governance : it compelleth the Emperors, high rulers and governors, to do noble deeds, to the end they may obtain immortal glory : it exciteth, moveth, and stirreth the strong hardy warriors, for the great laud that they have after they bin dead, promptly to go in hand with great and hard perils in defence of their country : and it prohibiteth reprovabable persons to do mischievous deeds, for fear of infamy and shame. This hath moved me to do my devoir to translate out of French into our maternal English tongue the volumes of Sir John Froissart : and in that I have not followed mine author word by word, yet I trust I have ensued the true report of the sentence of the matter : and if any fault be in this my rude translation, I remit the correction thereof to them that discreetly shall find any reasonable default ; and in their so doing I shall pray God to send them the bliss of Heaven.—Amen.

LORD BERNERS.

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO

RALPH NEVILLE

OF BANSTEAD PLACE IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY

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INTRODUCTION

THE Chronicles of Froissart, what are they? a history, an epic, a drama, a pageant, a picture gallery? They are all of these, and first of all a picture gallery. In this great collection every kind is represented—landscape, portrait, *genre*, battle-piece, and the rest. The colours are brilliant, the composition nearly always convincing, never less than well invented; the drawing is fine and powerful: if there be a fault, it is not in the pictures but in the hanging of them. In so vast a hall, and in face of walls so crowded, it is impossible but that at times the spectator's head should tire, and his pleasure suffer from confusion. If the building could be partitioned into rooms of moderate size, to be viewed one at a time, the fatigue would surely be avoided: if, in addition to this, some principle of re-arrangement could be introduced, by which the pictures in each room should be selected for their direct relation to each other, the risk of confusion would be lessened; and the pleasure gained

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by concentration might perhaps compensate for the diminished breadth and unity of view.

It is now a year since the first room of such a rearranged Froissart gallery was thrown open to the public: it contained a series of masterpieces of all kinds, chosen for their representative character, and intended to serve as introductory to the whole. The collection now put forward has a different purpose. I remember vividly that when as a boy I first found myself free to wander up and down these glorious and bewildering Chronicles, I turned more hastily those pages where the names had a foreign look, and stayed longer where I came upon England and the Englishmen. That curiosity and that pride, to see our own likeness in the mirror of the past, and to know the greatness of the race from which we come, are not, and I think will never be, the curiosity and the pride of boys alone. The present volume has been written for English-speaking people of every age and all the world over: in it they may, if they will, see the daily life and habit of their forefathers of five hundred years ago, in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland, their trade, their wars, their government, their social divisions, the very clothes they wore, from velvet and fur to "poor cloth"; how they loved "good bread" in the South and made their own oat-cake in the North, and what was the fashion among the great folk

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with regard to "the manner of taking of wine and spices." Then there are the sketches of that "savage country" Northumberland, where the rivers are "full of great rocks and stones," and where at times, even in the fourteenth century, "it never ceased to rain all the whole week"; and of the Scotch moors, where an army on the march suffered so many false alarms "by the raising of harts, hinds, and other savage beasts that were seen by them in the forward."

The portraits are more finished works: much time goes to the making of some of them, and in the end we feel that we should recognise the originals at first sight, if we could meet with them, and even their voices would sound familiar in our ears. What a breathing likeness is that of the old warrior Thomas of Gloucester: the vehemence and flush of life itself is there, caught as he is pouring out his rebellious indignation with little care for the dangers or the decency of courts: "I swear by God if I may live two year in good health the war shall be renewed:" and then he turns and rends his unmartial and luxurious nephew, King Richard, "his eyes be too heavy, he careth for nothing but for meat and drink, and rest, and dallying with ladies and damosels: this is no life for men of war, that will deserve to have honour." Again and again in this tremendous harangue we all but hear the deep

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roll of the Shakesperian thunder half a century before its time: "I am the youngest of all the brethren of England, but if I may be believed I shall be the first that shall renew the war." "I remember me yet of the last journey that I made into France: I think I had in my company but two thousand spears and eight thousand archers—and found none to withstand me, nor none that durst fight with me;" and so on and on to the breathless ending: "Lackingay, Lackingay," quoth the Duke, "all that I have said is of truth." There are less attractive figures too: the faint outline of the Duke of York, a man, as it appears, much consulted and consulting, but against whom the verdict stands "he was but a soft prince"; and Henry of Derby, wary, unflinching, heartless, and popular; he that could lecture the king he had dethroned and imprisoned, and justify his usurpation by vilely slandering a mother to her son. "And when he had been at the Tower two hours with King Richard, and had shewed him part of his faults, then he returned." Among the splendours of the coronation which followed, there was "a fountain that ran by divers branches white wine and red." We feel that if all had been known it would have needed a deep draught of that mixed fountain to make men see a king in Henry. As for Richard's faults, they were past denial: few rulers have had more, but in

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spite of all he remains a character of singular interest, and his career a national tragedy. Shakespere himself, though he perceived this unerringly, could not realise it more strongly or feel it more personally than Froissart. To begin with, this was the son of the Black Prince, the unforgotten flower of chivalry; and the Chronicles were partly written in the very house where Richard of Bordeaux was born on the day of the Three Kings "on a Tuesday about ten of the clock"; partly too in that other house of Berkhamstead where his brief childhood was passed. If his temperament fell short of Froissart's ideal of knighthood, it had on the artistic side much that was attractive: love of magnificence and of things beautiful, aptitude for poetry and song, ease and freedom of intercourse with others; it was an unusual defect of character, a combination of violence and hesitancy, of originality and instability, that brought all to ruin, and left England to the miseries of an uncertain succession. A lesser Hamlet, a Prince Otto on a greater scale, he had the charm that belongs to the half-understood, the double-natured, the self-defeated, the man constantly too great or too little for his opportunities: he was certainly loved by many, and by Froissart in his degree; but the wise old Chronicler, always discreet in presence of the powers that be, is content to keep his feelings in hand, and to mark the

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pathos of the story by light touches and reflections, such as "the broken state of the young queen" and the omen of the faithless greyhound.

To continue our catalogue, there are here some canvases larger yet, crowded with groups and figures, and instinct with national life: in one "the Commons of England" make their first great claim for their birthright of freedom and equality before the law; in another we see "the manner of the Scots and how they can war," and are instantly reminded of the difficulties of campaigning in South Africa; a third exemplifies or foreshadows the whole character and history of the Irish people, with desirable details about the clothing of some of their numerous kings and the Purgatory of St. Patrick. Next to these comes the battlepiece of Otterburn, which by its confusion and the single combats of its central heroes for a moment recalls the Iliad of Homer; but then we come upon the fighting Bishop of Carlisle and the still more martial chaplain, ("who thereby the same year was made Archdeacon of Aberdeen") and we remember where we are. There is but one love scene, but it is among the best and best-known of its kind: which makes us wonder the more that a chief part of it—the game of chess between King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury—has never appeared in any of the great English editions of the Chronicles. Lastly,

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we have two deathbed scenes: the sending of the heart of Robert Bruce is the greater piece and by far the more famous; but it contains nothing so tenderly perfect as the dying words of Queen Philippa to her husband, beginning, "Sir, we have in peace, joy, and great prosperity, used all our time together: Sir, now I pray you at our parting, that ye will grant me three desires."

Such, in outline, are the pictures now to be shewn; and they seem to me to be of no less interest for their execution than for their subjects. Moreover, if the pieces in this small collection have been chosen and framed as well as they were intended to be, they will leave at the end an impression deeper than any which could be made upon the eye, or even upon the mind's eye of which we have been speaking. Froissart, as we have seen, is, at the end of his life, a historian who has learned both impartiality and discretion; he will not openly take sides in a quarrel of the great: also he is one who is not easily startled, for he has seen that "the fortunes of this world are marvellous," and "that that shall be, shall be." But this is not to say that experience or custom have deadened his feelings or debased that gentle and enthusiastic philosophy which made him so charming a companion in the days when the world of chivalry was young. He makes but little direct comment, but he throws over

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the later part of his English history an atmosphere which is more unforgettable than any words. "Such mischievousness fell in those days upon great lords of England." "This King Richard reigned king of England twenty-two year in great prosperity, holding great estate and seignory: I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer, because that in my youth I was clerk and servant to the noble King Edward the Third his grandfather, and with my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, his grandam: wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul, and with much sorrow I write of his death: but because I have continued this history, therefore I write thereof to follow it." These words are the last echo of the thought that has been haunting us all through, from the moment when we heard how Queen Philippa passed "out of this transitory life," to be followed, after few and evil years, by her son and her husband. "So the body of King Edward the Third, with great processions, weepings and lamentations, his sons behind him, with all the nobles and prelates of England, was brought along the city of London, with open visage, to Westminster, and there he was buried beside the queen his wife."

This is no longer so much a picture, as an anthem or a solemn music; a dirge at vespers for the morning splendours of Cressy and Poitiers. No

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man had rejoiced more in that double glory, or seen more hope in it, than Froissart: the king was "a noble knight of his own hand," the prince was his "true son, worthy to guard a realm"; the vital principle of their chivalry was, in that age, as for all we know it will continue to be in every age, the one saving faith for man that is born to fighting, and Froissart had learned that faith in spirit and in truth. And now all seemed to have vanished. It had been hard enough, when he came back to England after twenty-seven years, to find "no man of my knowledge: and young children were become men and women that knew me not, nor I them: so that I was at the first all abashed, for if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with King Edward or with the prince, I had been well comforted and would have gone to him; but I could see none such." This was hard, but something more was gone, besides the men themselves: their very creed seemed eclipsed by the shadow of the coming age. The change was beginning which altered the forms of all things—religion, social order, commerce, and the art of war: and it is admirable to see how the sunset sadness which fell upon Froissart and which is reflected so inevitably upon the mind of those who read him, brings with it no touch of frosty conservatism, no chill wind of doubt for the future. Would that, as we see in

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imagination the genial, wise old man spending his last quiet days in his ingle nook at Chimay, we could send back to him a word of the sympathy we feel: "Courage, Sir John! you had the right of it: from 'this uncertain world' all must pass, kings, lords, prelates, knights, and squires; but their descendants, and the descendants, too, of those poor 'commons' whose rights and worth your heroes so little understood, shall bear witness on a hundred fields that the inborn, inbred faith of a great race does not perish in the natural changes of their destiny."

TABLE OF DATES

1337. Jean Froissart born at Valenciennes in Hainault.
1353. Came to England and entered service of Queen Philippa.
1361. Returned to England after visiting Valenciennes.
1365. Sent by the Queen to Scotland, where he was the guest of
Douglas at Dalkeith and of King David at Stirling.
1366. Visited Duke Wenceslas of Bohemia at Brussels.
1367. At Bordeaux with the Black Prince.
1368. At Paris with the wedding suite of Lionel, Duke of
Clarence.
1369. At Beaumont with Guy de Blois after the death of Queen
Philippa.
1370-1. At Brussels with Duke Wenceslas.
1372. Appointed Curé de Lestinnes.
1383. Appointed Chaplain to Guy de Blois.
1388. Visited the Comte de Foix at Orthès.
1389. At Paris at the entry of Queen Isabel.
1390. At Bruges in search of details for history.
1391. Returned to Valenciennes.
1392. Last journey to France.
1394. Return to England : received by Richard II.
1395. Sent by Duke Aubert of Bavaria to Richard II.
1396. Sent by Isabel of France to Richard II.
1410. Died, according to tradition, at Chimay, of which he was
a Canon, and was buried in St. Anne's Chapel within
the church.

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1467. John Bouchier born: grandson of John Bouchier, Lord Berners, who was grandson of Thomas Duke of Gloucester.
1474. Succeeded his grandfather as Lord Berners.
1477. Made a Knight of the Bath.
1520. Appointed Lord Deputy of Calais.
- 1523-5. Published Froissart's Chronicles, translated by him by command of King Henry VIII.
1532. Died at Calais, and was buried there in the church of St. Mary.
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NOTE.—The compiler of this volume is much indebted to the great edition of Froissart published in Brussels by the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, and to the abridged edition of Lord Berners' translation, by Mr. G. C. Macaulay.

FROISSART IN BRITAIN

PROLOGUE

Here speaketh the author of such as were most valiant knights to be made mention of in this book.

ALL noble hearts to encourage and to shew them ensample and matter of honour, I, Sir John Froissart, begin to speak after the true report and relation of my master, John le Bel, sometime Canon of Saint Lambert's of Liége ; affirming thus, how that many noble persons have oft-times spoke of the wars of England, and peradventure knew not justly the truth thereof, nor the true occasions of the first movings of such wars, nor how the war at length continued.

But now I trust ye shall hear reported the true foundation of the cause, and to that intent I will not forget, minish, or abridge the history in anything for default of language, but rather I will multiply and increase it, as near as I can following the truth from point to point, in speaking and shewing all the adventures since the nativity of the noble King Edward the Third, who reigned king

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of England and achieved many perilous adventures, and divers great battles addressed, and other feats of arms of great prowess, since the year of our Lord God 1326 that this noble king was crowned in England.

For generally such as were with him in his battles and happy fortunate adventures, or with his people in his absence, ought right well to be taken and reputed for valiant and worthy of renown: and though there were great plenty of sundry personages that ought to be praised and reputed as sovereigns, yet among other, and principally, ought to be renowned the noble proper person of the foresaid gentle king, also the Prince of Wales his son, the Duke of Lancaster, Sir Reginald Lord Cobham, Sir Walter Manny of Hainault, knight, Sir John Chandos, and divers others, of whom is made mention hereafter in this present book because of their valiant prowess. For in all battles that they were in, most commonly they had ever the renown, both by land and by sea, according to the truth.

They in all their deeds were so valiant that they ought to be reputed as sovereigns in all chivalry: yet for all that, such others as were in their company ought not to be of the less value or less set by: of whom hereafter right well shall be made mention in time and place convenient to say the truth and to maintain the same. All such as in cruel battles have been seen abiding to the discomfiture,

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sufficiently doing their devoir, may well be reputed for valiant and hardy, whatsoever was their adventure.

Here the matter speaketh of some of the predecessors of King Edward of England.

First, the better to enter into the matter of this honourable and pleasant history of the noble Edward, king of England, who was crowned at London, the year of our Lord God 1326 on Christmas Day, living the king his father and the queen his mother, it is certain that the opinion of Englishmen most commonly was then, and oftentimes it was seen in England after the time of King Arthur, how that between two valiant kings of England there was most commonly one between them of less sufficiency both of wit and of prowess.

And this was right well apparent by the same King Edward the Third: for his grandfather, called the good King Edward the First, was right valiant, sage, wise, and hardy, adventurous and fortunate in all feats of war, and had much ado against the Scots, and conquered them three or four times, for the Scots could never have victory nor endure against him. And after his decease his son (who was father to the said good King Edward the Third) was crowned king and called Edward the Second, who resembled nothing to his father in wit nor in prowess, but governed and kept his realm right

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wildly, and ruled himself by sinister counsel of certain persons, whereby at length he had no profit nor land, as ye shall hear after.

For anon after he was crowned, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had often before given much ado to the said good King Edward the First, conquered again all Scotland, and burnt and wasted a great part of the realm of England, a four or five days' journey within the realm, at two times, and discomfited the king and all the barons of England at a place in Scotland called Stirling, by battle arranged the day of St. John Baptist, in the seventh year of the same King Edward the Second, in the year of our Lord 1314. The chase of this discomfiture endured two days and two nights, and the king of England went with a small company to London. And on mid-Lent Sunday in the year of our Lord 1316 the Scots won again the city of Berwick by treason; but because this is no part of our matter, I will leave speaking thereof.

Here mine author maketh mention of the parent of this good King Edward the Third.

This King Edward the Second was married to Isabel, the daughter of Philip le Beau, king of France, who was one of the fairest ladies of the world. Their first son was the noble and hardy King Edward the Third, of whom this history is begun. The first of the daughters was called

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Isabel, married to the young King David of Scotland, son to King Robert Bruce, married in her tender youth by the accord of both realms of England and Scotland for to make perfect peace.

This said King Edward the Second governed right diversely his realm, whereby great murmuring there arose in England between the noble barons and the king's council, and great discord between the king and the queen his wife, and at the last the queen and the barons besieged the king in the town of Bristol. And finally the king, thinking to have fled to the country of Wales, was overtaken, and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoner.

And when Christmas was come, the queen held a great court at London; and thither came dukes, earls, barons, knights, and all the nobles of the realm, with prelates and burgesses of good towns; and they put in writing all the deeds of the king, who was in prison, and all his usages and evil behavings, the which was read openly in plain audience. And they concluded that such a man was not worthy to be a king, nor to bear a crown royal, nor to have the name of a king. But they all accorded that Edward his eldest son, who was there present, and was rightful heir, should be crowned king instead of his father, so that he would take good counsel, sage and true, about him, so that the realm from thenceforth might be better governed than it was before; and that the old

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king, his father, should be well and honestly kept as long as he lived, according to his estate.

And thus as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplished ; and then was crowned with a crown royal at the palace of Westminster beside London, the young King Edward the Third, who in his days after was right fortunate and happy in arms.

I

THE FIRST WAR OF KING EDWARD

How that King Robert Bruce of Scotland defied King Edward.

THUS passed forth the winter and the Lent season till Easter, and then the king and the queen and all the realm was in good peace all this season.

Then so it fortunied that King Robert of Scotland, who had been right hardy, and had suffered much travail against Englishmen, and oftentimes he had been chased and discomfited in the time of King Edward the First, grandfather to this young King Edward the Third, he was as then become very old and ancient, and sick (as it was said) of the great evil and malady. When he knew the adventures that were fallen in England, how that the old king was taken and deposed down from his royalty and his crown, as ye have heard herebefore, then he bethought him that he would defy the young king, because he was young, and that the barons of the realm were not all of one accord, as it was said; therefore he might the better speed in his purpose to conquer part of England.

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And so about Easter, in the year of our Lord 1327, he sent his defiance to the young King Edward the Third, and to all the realm, sending them word how that he would enter into the realm of England and burn before him, as he had done before-time at such season as the discomfiture was at the castle of Stirling, where the Englishmen received great damage.

When the king of England and his council perceived that they were defied, they caused it to be known over all the realm, and commanded that all the nobles and all others should be ready apparelled, every man after his estate, and that they should be by Ascension Day next after at the town of York, standing northward. The king sent much people before to keep the frontiers against Scotland, and sent a great embassy to Sir John of Hainault, praying him right affectionately that he would help to succour and to keep company with him in his voyage against the Scots, and that he would be with him at the Ascension Day next after at York, with such company as he might get of men of war in those parts.

When Sir John of Hainault, Lord of Beaumont, heard the king's desire, he sent straight his letters and his messengers into every place where he thought to recover or attain to have any company of men of war, in Flanders, in Hainault, in Brabant, and in other places, desiring them that in their best apparel for the war they would meet him at

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Wissant for to go over the sea with him into England. And all such as he sent unto came to him with a glad cheer, and divers others that heard thereof, in trust to attain to as much honour as they had that were with him in England before. So that by that time that the said Lord Beaumont was come to Wissant, there were ready ships for him and his company, brought out of England.

And so they took shipping and passed over the sea, and arrived at Dover, and so then ceased not to ride till they came, within three days of Pentecost, to the town of York, where the king and the queen his mother, and all his lords, were with great host tarrying the coming of Sir John of Hainault, and had sent many before of their men of arms, archers, and common people of the good towns and villages; and as people resorted, they were caused to be lodged two or three leagues off, all about in the country.

And on a day thither came Sir John of Hainault and his company, who were right welcome and well received, both of the king, of the queen his mother, and of all other barons, and to them was delivered the suburbs of the city to lodge in. And to Sir John of Hainault was delivered an abbey of white monks for him and his household.

There came with him out of Hainault the Lord of Enghien, who was called Sir Gaultier, and Sir Fastres de Rœulx, Sir Robert de Bailleul, and Sir Guilliam de Bailleul, his brother, and the Lord of Havreth, châtelain of Mons, Sir Michael de Ligne,

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Sir Sanses de Boussoit, the Lord of Gómmegnies, Sir Perceval de Semeries, the Lord of Beaurieu, and the Lord of Floyon. Also of the country of Flanders there was Sir Hector of Vilain, Sir John de Rhodes, Sir Wulfart de Ghisteltes, the Lord of Straten, Sir Gossuin de La Moere: and divers came thither of the county of Brabant, as the Lord of Duffel, Sir Thierry of Walcourt, Sir John Pyliser, Sir Giles de Coterebbe, and divers others.

And of Hesbegnons there was Sir John le Bel and Sir Henry his brother, Sir Godfrey de la Chapelle and Sir Gilbert de Herck; and out of Cambresis and Artois there were come certain knights of their own good wills to advance their bodies: so that Sir John of Hainault had well in his company five hundred men of arms, well apparelled and richly mounted.

And after the feast of Pentecost came thither Sir Guillian de Juliers, who was afterwards Duke of Juliers after the decease of his father, and Sir Thierry of Heinsberg, who was afterwards Earl of Loos, and with them a right fair rout; and all to keep company with the gentle knight Sir John of Hainault, Lord of Beaumont.

The dissension that was between the archers of England and them of Hainault.

The gentle king of England, the better to feast these strange lords and all their company, held a

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great court on Trinity Sunday in the Friars, where he and the queen his mother were lodged, keeping their house each of them apart.

At this feast the king had well five hundred knights, and fifteen were new made. And the queen had well in her court sixty ladies and damosels, who were there ready to make feast and cheer to Sir John of Hainault and to his company.

There might have been seen great noblesse, plenty of all manner of strange victual. There were ladies and damosels freshly apparelled ready to have danced if they might have leave. But incontinent after dinner there began a great fray between some of the grooms and pages of the strangers and the archers of England, who were lodged among them in the said suburbs, and anon all the archers assembled there together with their bows, and drove the strangers home to their lodging.

And the most part of the knights and masters of them were then in the king's court, but as soon as they heard tidings of the fray, each of them drew to their own lodging in great haste, such as might enter; and such as could not get in were in great peril, for the archers, who were to the number of three thousand, shot fast their arrows, not sparing masters nor varlets.

And it was thought and supposed that this fray was begun by some of the friends of the Spencers and of the Earl of Arundel's, who were put to death before by the aid and counsel of Sir John of

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Hainault, and they then peradventure thought to be somewhat revenged, and to set discord in the host.

And so the Englishmen that were hosts to these strangers shut fast their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter into their lodgings: howbeit some gat in on the back side, and quickly armed them, but they durst not issue out into the street for fear of the arrows.

Then the strangers brake out on the back side, and brake down pales and hedges of gardens, and drew them into a certain plain place and waited for their company, till at the last they were a hundred and above of men of arms, and as many more unharnessed, such as could not get to their lodgings. And when they were assembled together, they hasted them to go and succour their companions, who were defending their lodgings in the great street.

And as they went forth they passed by the lodging of the Lord d'Enghien, where there were great gates both before and behind opening into the great street. And the archers of England shot fiercely at the house, and there were many of the Hainaulters hurt; and the good knight Fastres de Rœulx, and Sir Perceval de Semeries, and Sir Sanses de Boussoit, these three could not enter into their lodgings to arm them, but they did as valiantly as though they had been armed. They had great levers in their hands, the which they found in

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a carpenter's yard, with the which they gave such strokes that men durst not approach to them. They three beat down that day, with such few company as they had, more than sixty, for they were great and mighty knights. Finally the archers that were at the fray were discomfited and put to chase, and there were dead in the place well to the number of three hundred, and it was said they were all of the bishopric of Lincoln.

I trow God did never give more grace and fortune to any people than he did then to this gentle knight, Sir John of Hainault, and to his company. For these English archers intended to none other thing but to murder and to rob them, for all that they were come to serve the king in his business.

These strangers were never in so great peril all the season that they lay, nor they were never after in surety till they were again at Wissant in their own country. For they were fallen in so great hate with all the archers of the host, that some of the barons and knights of England shewed unto the lords of Hainault, giving them warning that the archers and other of the common people were allied together, to the number of six thousand, to the intent to burn or to kill them in their lodgings either by night or by day.

And so they lived at a hard adventure; but each of them promised to help and aid each other, and to sell dearly their lives before they were slain. So they made many fair ordinances among themselves

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by good and great advice, whereby they were fain oftentimes to lie in their harness by night, and in the day to keep their lodgings, and to have all their harness ready and their horses saddled.

Thus continually they were fain to make watch by their constables in the fields and highways about the court, and to send out scout-watches a mile off, to see ever if any such people as they were informed of were coming to themward; to the intent that if their scout-watch heard any noise or moving of people drawing to the city-ward, then incontinent they should give them knowledge, whereby they might the sooner gather together, each of them under their own banner, in a certain place, the which they had advised for the same intent.

And in this tribulation they abode in the said suburbs by the space of four weeks; and in all that season they durst not go far from their harness nor from their lodgings, saving a certain of the chief lords among them, who went to the court to see the king and his council, who made them right good cheer.

For if the said evil adventure had not been, they had sojourned there in great ease, for the city and the country about them was right plentiful. For all the time of six weeks that the king and the lords of England, and more than sixty thousand men of war, lay there, the victuals were never the dearer; for ever they had a pennyworth for a penny as well as others had before they came there, and there was good wine of Gascony and of Alsace and of the

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Rhine, and plenty thereof, with right good cheap as well of poultry as of other victuals; and there was daily brought before their lodgings hay, oats, and litter, whereof they were well served for their horses and at a meetly price.

Here the history speaketh of the manner of the Scots and how they can war.

And when they had sojourned three weeks after this said fray, then they had knowledge from the king, by the marshals of the host, that the next week every man should provide for carts, tents, and pavilions, to lie in the field, and for all other necessities thereto belonging, to the intent to draw toward Scotland.

And when every man was ready apparelled, the king and all his barons went out of the city, and the first night they lodged six mile forward. And Sir John of Hainault and his company were lodged always as near the king as might be, to do him the more honour, and also to the intent that the archers should have no advantage of him nor of his company.

And there the king abode two days and two nights, tarrying for all them that were behind, and to be well advised that they lacked nothing. And on the third day they dislodged, and went forward till they came to the city of Durham, a day's journey within the country called Northumberland,

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the which at that time was a savage and a wild country, full of deserts and mountains, and a right poor country of everything saving of beasts; through the which there runneth a river full of flint and great stones, called the water of Tyne.

And near this river standeth the town and castle of Carlisle, the which sometime was King Arthur's, and he held his court there oftentimes. Also on that river is seated the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the which town was ready the Marshal of England, with a great company of men of arms, to keep the country against the Scots: and at Carlisle were the Lord Hereford and the Lord Mowbray, who were governors there to defend the passage against the Scots; for the Scots could not enter into England but they must pass this said river in one place or other.

The Englishmen could hear no tidings of the Scots till they were come to the entry of the said country: the Scots were passed this river so privily that they of Carlisle nor yet of Newcastle knew nothing thereof, for between the said towns it was thirty English mile.

These Scottish men are right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars: for when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the hangers-on and lagers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well

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horsed, and the common people and others on little hackneys and geldings : and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland.

They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine ; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through ; therefore they carry with them none other purveyance, but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal ; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake, in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do.

And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and burnt all about as they went, and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of four thousand men of arms,

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knights and squires, mounted on good horses, and other ten thousand men of war were armed after their guise, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat, but let to go to pasture in the fields and bushes.

They had two good captains, for King Robert of Scotland, who in his days had been hardy and prudent, was then of great age and sore grieved with the great sickness; but he had made one of his captains a gentle prince and a valiant in arms, called the Earl of Moray, bearing in his arms silver, three cushions gules; and the other was the Lord James Douglas, who was reputed for the most hardy knight and greatest adventurer in all the realm of Scotland; and he bare azure, a chief silver, thereon three stars gules. These two lords were renowned as chief in all deeds of arms and great prowess in all Scotland.

How the King of England made his first journey against the Scots.

When the king of England and his host had seen and heard of the fires that the Scots had made in England, incontinent was cried alarm, and every man was commanded to dislodge and follow after the marshals' banners. Then every man drew to the field ready apparelled to fight.

There were ordained three great battalions afoot,

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and to every battalion two wings of five hundred men of arms, knights and squires, and thirty thousand others, armed and well apparelled, the one half on little hackneys, and the other were men of the country afoot, sent out of good towns at their wages; and twenty-four thousand archers afoot, beside all the other rascals and followers of the host. And as these battalions were thus ordered, so they advanced forward, well ranged and in good order, and followed the Scots by the reek of the smoke that they made with burning; and thus they followed all that day till it was near night.

Then the host lodged them in a wood by a little river-side, there to rest and to abide for their carriage and purveyances. And at that day the Scots had burnt and wasted and pilld the country about within five mile of the English host; but the Englishmen could not overtake them.

And the next day in the morning all the host armed them, and displayed their banners on the field, every man ready apparelled in his own battalion, and so advanced, without disordering, all the day through mountains and valleys; but for all that they could never approach near to the Scots, who went wasting the country before them. There were such marshes and savage deserts, mountains and dales, that it was commanded on pain of death that none of the host should pass before the banners of the marshals.

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And when it drew toward the night, the people, horse and carriage, and namely the men afoot, were so sore travailed that they could not endure to labour any further that day.

And when the lords saw that their labour in following the Scots was in vain, and also they perceived well, though the Scots would abide them, yet they might take their field in such a place or on such a hill that they could not fight with them without it were to their great damage and jeopardy, then was it commanded in the king's name by the marshals, that the host should take their lodging for that night, and so take counsel and advice what should be best to do the next day.

So the host was lodged in a wood by a river-side, and the king was lodged in a little poor abbey: his men of war, horse and carriage, were marvellously fortravailed. And when every man had taken his place to lodge there all night, then the lords drew them apart to take counsel how they might fight with the Scots, considering the country that they were in: for as far as they could understand, the Scots went ever forwards, all about burning and wasting the country; and they perceived well how they could not in any wise fight with them among these mountains without great peril or danger, and they saw well also they could not overtake them.

But it was thought that the Scots must needs pass again the river of Tyne homeward; therefore it was determined by great advice and counsel that

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all the host should remove at midnight, and to make haste in the morning to the intent to stop the passage of the river from the Scots, whereby they should be advised by force either to fight with them, or else to abide still in England to their great danger and loss.

And to this conclusion all the host was accorded, and so supped and lodged as well as they might that night, and every man was warned to be ready at the first sounding of the trumpet, and at the second blast every man to arm him without delay, and at the third every man quickly to mount on their horses, and to draw under their own standard and banner; and every man to take with him but one loaf of bread, and to truss it behind him on his horse.

It was also determined that they should leave behind them all their loose harness, and all manner of carriages and purveyances, for they thought surely to fight with the Scots the next day, whatsoever danger they were in, thinking to jeopard either to win or to lose all.

And thus it was ordained, and so it was accomplished: for about midnight every man was ready apparelled; few had slept but little, and yet they had sore travailed the day before. As great haste as they made, before they were well ranged in battle the day began to appear.

Then they advanced forward in all haste through mountains, valleys, and rocks, and through many

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evil passages, without any plain country. And on the highest of these hills, and on the plains of these valleys, there were marvellous great marshes and dangerous passages, that it was great marvel that much people had not been lost, for they rode ever still forward, and never tarried one for another : for whosoever fell in any of these marshes, with much pain could get any aid to help them out again, so that in divers places there were many lost, and specially horse and carriages.

And oftentimes in the day there was cried alarum ; for it was said ever that the foremost company of their host were fighting with their enemies, so that the hindermost weened it had been true ; wherefore they hasted them over rocks, and stones, and mountains, with helm and shield ready apparelled to fight, with spear and sword ready in hand, without tarrying for father, brother, or companion. And when they had thus run forth oftentimes in the day the space of half a mile together toward the cry, weening it had been their enemies, they were deceived ; for the cry ever arose by the raising of harts, hinds and other savage beasts that were seen by them in the forward, after the which beasts they made such shouting and crying, that they that came after weened they had been a-fighting with their enemies.

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*How the King of England came to the river of Tyne,
and how it rained there.*

Thus rode forth all that day the young king of England by mountains and deserts, without finding any highway, town, or village. And when it was against night they came to the river of Tyne, to the same place where the Scots had passed over into England, weening that they must needs repass again the same way.

Then the king of England and his host passed over the same river by fords, with much pain and travail, for the passage was full of great stones. And when they were over, they lodged them that night by the river-side, and by that time the sun was gone to rest, and there was but few among them that had either axe, or hook, or any instrument to cut down any wood to make their lodgings withal; and there were many that had lost their own company and wist not where they were. Some of the footmen were far behind, and wist not well which way to take; but such as knew best the country said plainly they had ridden the same day twenty-four English miles, for they rode as fast as they might, without any rest, but at such passages as they could not choose.

All this night they lay by this river-side, still in their harness, holding their horses by their reins in their hands, for they wist not whereunto to tie

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them. Thus their horses did eat no meat of all that night nor day before : they had neither oats for forage for them, nor the people of the host had no sustenance of all that day nor night, but every man his loaf that he had carried behind him, the which was sore wet with the sweat of the horses ; nor they drank none other drink but the water of the river, without it were some of the lords that had carried bottles with them ; nor they had no fire nor light, for they had nothing to make light withal, without it were some of the lords that had torches brought with them.

In this great trouble and danger they passed all that night, their armour still on their backs, their horses ready saddled. And when the day began to appear, the which was greatly desired of all the whole host, they trusted then to find some redress for themselves and for their horses, or else to fight with their enemies, the which they greatly desired, to the intent to be delivered out of the great travail and pain that they had endured.

And all that day it rained so fast that the river and passage was waxen great and risen so high that before it were noon there might none pass the passages again ; wherefore they could not send to know where they were, nor where to have any forage or litter for their horses, nor bread nor drink for their own sustentances ; but so all that night they were fain to fast, nor their horses had nothing but leaves of trees and herbs : they cut down boughs of

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trees with their swords to tie withal their horses, and to make themselves lodges.

And about noon some poor folks of the country were found, and they said how they were then fourteen mile from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and farther yet from Carlisle, and that there was no town nearer to them wherein they might find anything to do them ease withal.

And when this was shewed to the king and to the lords of his council, incontinent were sent thither horses and sumpters to fetch thence some purveyance; and there was a cry in the king's name made in the town of Newcastle, that whosoever would bring bread or wine or any other victual should be paid therefor incontinent at a good price, and that they should be conducted to the host in safeguard; for it was published openly that the king nor his host would not depart from the place that they were in till they had some tidings where their enemies were become.

And the next day by noon such as had been sent for victual returned again to the host with such purveyances as they could get, and that was not over much; and with them came other folks of the country with little nags charged with bread evil baken in panniers, and small poor wine in barrels, and other victual to sell in the host, whereby great part of the host were well refreshed and eased. And thus they continued day by day the space of eight days, abiding every day the returning again of

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the Scots, who knew no more where the English host lay than they knew where they were; so each of them were ignorant of other.

Thus three days and three nights they were in manner without bread, wine, candle or light, fodder or forage, or any manner of purveyance either for horse or man; and after the space of four days a loaf of bread was sold for sixpence, the which was worth but a penny, and a gallon of wine for six groats that was worth but sixpence. And yet for all that there was such rage of famine that each took victuals out of other's hands, whereby there rose divers battles and strifes between sundry companions.

And yet, beside all these mischiefs, it never ceased to rain all the whole week, whereby their saddles, pannels, and counter-singles were all rotten and broken, and most part of their horses hurt on their backs: nor they had not wherewith to shoe them that were unshod, nor they had nothing to cover themselves withal from the rain and cold but green bushes and their armour, nor they had nothing to make fire withal but green boughs, the which would not burn because of the rain.

In this great mischief they were all the week without hearing of any word of the Scots, upon trust they should repass again into their own countries the same way or near thereabout; whereby great noise and murmurs began to rise in the host, for some said and laid it to others' charge, that by

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their counsel the king and all they were brought into that danger, and that they had done it to betray the king and all his host. Wherefore it was ordained by the king and by his council that the next morning they should remove the host and repass again the river about seven miles thence, where they might pass more at their ease.

Of the cry made for tidings of the Scots, and of the first meeting of the hosts.

Then it was cried throughout the host that every man should be ready apparelled to remove the next day betimes: also there was a cry made that who-soever could bring to the king certain knowledge where the Scots were, he that brought first tidings thereof should have for his labours a hundred pounds in land to him and to his heirs for ever, and to be made a knight of the king's hand.

When this cry was made in the host, divers English knights and squires to the number of fifteen or sixteen, for covetise of winning of this promise, they passed the river in great peril, and rode forth through the mountains, and departed each one from other, taking their adventure.

The next morning the host dislodged and rode fair and easily all the day, for they were but evil apparelled; and they did so much that they repassed again the river with much pain and travail, for the water was deep because of the rain that had fallen,

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wherefore many did swim and some were drowned. And when they were all over, then they lodged the host; and there they found some forage, meadows and fields about a little village, the which the Scots had burnt when they passed that way.

And the next day they departed from thence, and passed over hills and dales all day till it was noon, and then they found some villages burnt by the Scots, and thereabout was some champaign country with corn and meadows, and so that night the host lodged there.

Again the third day they rode forth, so that the most part of the host wist not which way, for they knew not the country, nor they could hear no tidings of the Scots.

And again the fourth day they rode forth in like manner, till it was about the hour of nine, and there came a squire fast riding toward the king and said: "An it like your Grace, I have brought you perfect tidings of the Scots your enemies. Surely they be within three mile of you, lodged on a great mountain, abiding there for you; and there they have been all this eight days, nor they knew no more tidings of you than ye did of them.

"Sir, this that I shew you is of truth, for I approached so near to them that I was taken prisoner, and brought before the lords of their host; and there I shewed them tidings of you, and how that ye seek for them to the intent to have battle. And the lords did quit me my ransom and prison

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when I had shewed them how your Grace had promised a hundred pounds sterling of rent to him that brought first tidings of them to you; and they made me to promise that I should not rest till I had shewed you this tidings, for they said they had as great desire to fight with you as ye had with them; and there shall ye find them, without fault."

And as soon as the king had heard this tidings, he assembled all his host in a fair meadow to pasture their horses; and beside there was a little abbey, the which was all burnt, called in the days of King Arthur *le Blanche Lande*. There the king confessed him, and every man made him ready. The king caused many masses to be sung, to housel all such as had devotion thereto; and incontinent he assigned a hundred pounds sterling of rent to the squire that had brought him tidings of the Scots, according to his promise, and made him knight of his own hands before all the host.

And when they had well rested them and taken repast, then the trumpet sounded to horse, and every man mounted, and the banners and standards followed this new-made knight, every battalion of itself in good order, through mountains and dales, ranged as well as they might, ever ready apparelled to fight; and they rode and made such haste that about noon they were so near the Scots that each of them might clearly see the other.

And as soon as the Scots saw them, they issued out of their lodges afoot, and ordained three great

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battalions in the availing of the hill; and at the foot of this mountain there ran a great river full of great rocks and stones, so that none might pass over without great danger or jeopardy; and though the Englishmen had passed over the river, yet was there no place or room between the hill and the river to set the battle in good order.

The Scots had stablished their two first battalions at the two corners of the mountain, joining to the rocks, so that none might well mount upon the hill to assist them, but the Scots were ever ready to beat with stones the assailants if they passed the river. And when the lords of England saw the behaving and the manner of the Scots, they made all their people to alight afoot and to put off their spurs, and arranged three great battalions, as they had done before; and there were made many new knights.

And when their battalions were set in good order, then some of the lords of England brought their young king on horseback before all the battalions of the host, to the intent to give thereby the more courage to all his people; the which king in full goodly manner prayed and required them right graciously that every man would pain them to do their best to save his honour and the common weal of his realm.

And it was commanded that they should advance toward their enemies fair and easily; and so they did, and every battalion went forth in good array

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and order a great space of ground, to the descending of the mountain where the Scots were. And this the English host did to the intent to see if their enemies would break their field or not, and to see what they would do; but they could not perceive that they were about to remove in any wise: they were so near together that they might know each other's arms.

Then the host stood still to take other counsel. And some of the host mounted on good horses and rode forth to skirmish with them, and to behold the passage of the river, and to see the countenance of their enemies more nearer. And there were heralds of arms sent to the Scots, giving them knowledge, if that they would come and pass the river to fight with them in the plain field, they would draw back from the river and give them sufficient place to arrange their battalions, either the same day or else the next, as they would choose themselves; or else to let them do likewise, and they would come over to them.

And when the Scots heard this, they took counsel among themselves, and anon they answered the heralds how they would do neither the one nor the other, and said, "Sirs, your king and his lords see well how we be here in this realm, and have burnt and wasted the country as we have passed through, and if they be displeased therewith, let them amend it when they will, for here we will abide as long as it shall please us."

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And as soon as the king of England heard that answer, it was incontinent cried that all the host should lodge there that night without drawing back. And so the host lodged there that night with much pain on the hard ground and stones, always still armed. They had no stakes nor rods to tie withal their horses, nor forage, nor bush to make withal any fire.

And when they were thus lodged, then the Scots caused some of their people still to keep the field where they had ordained their battalions; and the remnant went to their lodgings, and they made such fires that it was marvel to behold. And between the day and the night they made a marvellous great noise, with blowing of horns all at once, that it seemed properly that all the devils of hell had been there.

Thus these two hosts were lodged that night, the which was St. Peter's night in the beginning of August, the year of our Lord 1327.

How the Scots would not agree to fight with the Englishmen, but skirmished ever by day and by night.

And the next morning the lords of England heard mass and ranged again their battalions as they had done the day before, and the Scots in like wise ordered their battalions. Thus both the hosts stood still in battle till it was noon.

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The Scots made never semblance to come to the English host to fight with them, for they could not approach together without great damage. There were divers companions a-horseback that passed the river, and some afoot, to skirmish with the Scots, and in like wise some of the Scots broke out and skirmished with them; so that there were divers on both parties slain, wounded, and taken prisoners.

And after that noon was past, the lords of England commanded every man to draw to their lodging, for they saw well the Scots would not fight with them. And in like manner thus they did three days together, and the Scots in like case kept still their mountains. Howbeit there was skirmishing on both parties, and divers slain and prisoners taken. And every night the Scots made great fires and great noise with shouting and blowing of horns.

The intention of the Englishmen was to hold the Scots there in manner as besieged (for they could not fight with them there as they were), thinking to have famished them. And the Englishmen knew well by such prisoners as they had taken that the Scots had neither bread, wine, nor salt, nor other purveyance, save of beasts they had great plenty, the which they had taken in the country, and might eat at their pleasure without bread; which was an evil diet, for they lacked oaten meal to make cakes withal, as is said before; the which

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diet some of the Englishmen used when they had need, specially Borderers when they make roads into Scotland.

And in the morning the fourth day the Englishmen looked on the mountain where the Scots were, and they could see no creature, for the Scots were departed at midnight. Then was there sent men a-horseback and afoot over the river, to know where they were become; and about noon they found them lodged on another mountain, more stronger than the other was, by the same river-side, and where there was a great wood on the one side, to go and come secretly when they list.

Then incontinent the English host dislodged, and drew to that part, embattled in good order, and lodged them on another hill against the Scots, and ranged their battalions, and made semblance to have come to them. Then the Scots issued out of their lodges, and set their battalions along the river-side against them, but they would never come toward the English host, and the Englishmen could not go to them, without they would have been slain or taken at advantage.

Thus they lodged each against other the space of eighteen days; and oftentimes the king of England sent to them his heralds of arms, offering them that if they would come and fight with him, he would give them place sufficient on the plain ground to pitch their field, or else let them give him room and place, and he assured them that he would come

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over the river and fight with them; but the Scots would never agree thereto.

Thus both the hosts suffered much pain and travail the space that they lay so near together; and the first night that the English host was thus lodged on the second mountain, the Lord James Douglas took with him about two hundred men of arms, and passed the river far off from the host, so that he was not perceived, and suddenly he brake into the English host about midnight, crying, "Douglas! Douglas! ye shall all die, thieves of England!" And he slew before he ceased three hundred men, some in their beds and some scant ready; and he struck his horse with the spurs and came to the king's own tent, always crying "Douglas!" and struck asunder two or three cords of the king's tent, and so departed, and in that retreat he lost some of his men.

Then he returned again to the Scots, so that there was no more done; but every night the English host made good and sure watch, for they feared making of alarms; and ever the most part of the host lay in their harness; and every day there were skirmishes made, and men slain on both parties.

And in conclusion, the last day of twenty-four, there was a Scottish knight taken, who against his will shewed to the lords of England what state and condition the Scots were in; he was so sore examined that for fear of his life he shewed how the lords of

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Scotland were accorded among themselves that the same night every man should be ready armed, and to follow the banners of the Lord James Douglas, and every man to keep him secret. But the knight could not shew them what they intended to do.

Then the lords of England drew them to council, and there it was thought among them that the Scots might in the night-time come and assail their host on both sides, to adventure themselves either to live or die, for they could endure no longer the famine that was among them.

Then the English lords ordained three great battalions, and so stood in three parties without their lodgings, and made great fires, thereby to see the better, and caused all their pages to guard their lodgings and horses.

How the Scots departed privily without fighting, and how the King of England and his drew homeward.

Thus they stood still all that night armed, every man under his own standard and banner.

And in the breaking of the day, two trumpets of Scotland met with the English scout-watch, who took the trumpets and brought them before the king of England and his council, and then they said openly, "Sirs, what do you watch here? Ye lose but your time, for on the jeopardy of our heads the Scots are gone and departed before mid-

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night, and they are at the least by this time three or four mile on their way, and they left us two behind to the intent that we should shew this to you."

Then the English lords said that it were but a folly to follow the Scots, for they saw well they could not overtake them; yet for doubt of deceiving they kept still the two trumpets privily, and caused their battalions to stand still arranged till it was near the hour of six. And when they saw for truth that the Scots were departed, then every man had leave to retire to their lodgings, and the lords took counsel to determine what should be best to do.

And in the meantime divers of the English host mounted on their horses and passed over the river, and came to the mountain where the Scots had been, and there they found more than five hundred great beasts ready slain, because the Scots could not drive them before their host, and in order that the Englishmen should have but small profit of them.

Also there they found three hundred cauldrons made of beasts' skins with the hair still on them, strained on stakes over the fire, full of water and full of flesh to be sodden, and more than a thousand spits full of flesh to be roasted, and more than ten thousand old shoes made of raw leather with the hair still on them, the which the Scots had left behind them; also there they found five poor

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Englishmen prisoners, bound fast to certain trees, and some of their legs broken; then they were loosed and let go.

And then they returned again, and by that time all the host was dislodged; and it was ordained by the king and by the advice of his council that the whole host should follow the marshals' banners, and draw homeward into England. And so they did, and at the last came into a fair meadow, where they found forage sufficient for their horses and cart-horses, whereof they had great need, for they were nigh so feeble that it should have been great pain for them to have gone any farther.

And so then the next day the host dislodged again and went forth, and about noon they came to a great abbey two mile from the city of Durham; and there the king lodged, and the host thereabout in the fields, where they found forage sufficient for themselves and for their horses.

And the next day the host lay there still, and the king went to the city of Durham to see the church, and there he offered. And in this city every man found their own carts, the which they had left thirty-two days before in a wood at midnight, when they followed the Scots first, as it hath been shewed before; for the burgesses and people of Durham had found and brought them into their town at their own costs and charges. And all these carts were set in void granges and barns in safeguard, and on every man's cart his own cognizance or arms,

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whereby every man might know his own. And the lords and gentlemen were glad when they had thus found their carts.

Thus they abode two days in the city of Durham, and the host round about, for they could not all lodge within the city, and there their horses were new shod. And then they took their way to the city of York, and so within three days they came thither; and there the king found the queen his mother, who received him with great joy, and so did all other ladies, damosels, burgesses, and commons of the city.

The king gave licence to all manner of people, every man to draw homeward to their own countries. And the king thanked greatly the earls, barons, and knights of their good counsel and aid that they had done to him in his journey; and he retained still with him Sir John of Hainault and all his company, who were greatly feasted by the queen and all other ladies.

Then the knights and other strangers of his company made a bill of their horses and such other stuff as they had lost in that journey, and delivered it to the king's council, every man's by itself; and in trust of the king's promise, Sir John of Hainault bound himself to all his company that they should be content for everything comprised in their own bills within a short space; for the king nor his council could not so soon recover gold or silver to content their desires. But he delivered them suffi-

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cient to pay all their small charges, and to bring them home withal into their own countries; and anon afterwards within the same year they were paid for everything they could desire.

Then they of Hainault bought little nags to ride at their ease; and they sent back their lackeys and pages and all their harness and baggages by water in two ships that were delivered to them, the which ships with their stuff arrived at Sluys in Flanders. And Sir John of Hainault and his company took their leave of the king, of the old queen, of the Earl of Kent, of the Earl of Lancaster, and of all the other barons, who greatly did honour them. And the king caused twelve knights and two hundred men of arms to accompany them, for fear of the archers of England, of whom they were not well assured, for they must needs pass through the bishopric of Lincoln.

Thus departed Sir John of Hainault and his rout, in the conduct of these knights, and rode so long in their journey that they came to Dover, and there entered into the sea in ships and vessels that they found ready there apparelled for them.

Then the English knights departed from thence and returned to their own houses; and the Hainaulters arrived at Wissant, and there they sojourned two days in making ready their horses and harness. And in the meantime Sir John and some of his company rode a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne, and afterwards they returned into

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Hainault and departed each from other to their own houses and countries.

Sir John of Hainault rode to the Earl his brother, who was at Valenciennes, who received him joyously, for greatly he loved him; to whom he recounted all his tidings that ye have heard herebefore.

II

THE DEATH OF KING ROBERT BRUCE

How King Robert of Scotland died.

WHEN that the Scots were departed by night from the mountain where the king of England had besieged them, as ye have heard herebefore, they went twenty-two mile through that savage country without resting, and passed the river of Tyne right near to Carlisle, and the next day they went into their own land, and so departed every man to his own mansion.

And within a space after there was a peace purchased between the kings of England and Scotland, to endure three year ; and in the meantime it fortune that King Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble, for he was greatly charged with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death.

And when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he trusted best, and shewed them how there was no remedy with him, but he must needs leave this transitory life, commanding them, on the faith and truth that

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they owed him, truly to keep the realm and aid the young Prince David his son, and that when he were of age they should obey him and crown him king, and marry him in such a place as was convenient for his estate.

Then he called to him the gentle knight Sir James Douglas, and said before all the lords: "Sir James, my dear friend, ye know well that I have had much ado in my days to uphold and sustain the right of this realm; and when I had most ado, I made a solemn vow, the which as yet I have not accomplished, whereof I am right sorry: the which was, if I might achieve and make an end of all my wars, so that I might once have brought this realm in rest and peace, then I promised in my mind to have gone and warred on Christ's enemies, adversaries to our holy Christian faith. To this purpose mine heart hath ever intended, but our Lord would not consent thereto, for I have had so much ado in my days, and now in my last enterprise I have taken such a malady that I cannot escape.

"And since it is so that my body cannot go nor achieve that my heart desireth, I will send the heart instead of the body to accomplish mine avow. And because I know not in all my realm no knight more valiant than ye be, nor of body so well furnished to accomplish mine avow instead of myself, therefore I require you, mine own dear especial friend, that ye will take on you this voyage, for the love of me, and to acquit my soul against my Lord God. For

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I trust so much in your nobleness and truth, that if ye will take it on you, I doubt not but that ye shall achieve it, and I declare then shall I die in more ease and quiet, so that it be done in such manner as I shall declare unto you.

“I will that as soon as I am passed out of this world, that ye take my heart out of my body and embalm it, and take of my treasure as ye shall think sufficient for that enterprise, both for yourself and such company as ye will take with you, and present my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, where our Lord lay, seeing my body cannot come there.

“And take with you such company and purveyance as shall be appertaining to your estate; and wheresoever ye come, let it be known how ye carry with you the heart of King Robert of Scotland, at his instance and desire, to be presented to the Holy Sepulchre.”

Then all the lords that heard these words wept for pity, and when this knight Sir James Douglas might speak for weeping, he said, “Ah, gentle and noble king, a hundred times I thank your Grace of the great honour that ye do to me, since of so noble and great treasure ye give me the charge, and, sir, I shall do with, a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power; howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise.”

Then the king said, “Ah, gentle knight, I thank you, so that ye will promise to do it.”

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"Sir," said the knight, "I shall do it undoubtedly, by the faith that I owe to God and to the order of knighthood."

"Then I thank you," said the king, "for now shall I die in more ease of my mind, since I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me that which I could never attain unto."

And thus soon afterwards this noble Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, passed out of this uncertain world, and his heart was taken out of his body and embalmed, and honourably he was interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline, in the year of our Lord God 1329, the seventh day of the month of June.

How the heart of King Robert Bruce passed still the foremost in battle.

Then Sir James Douglas purveyed him of that which appertained for his enterprise, and took his ship at the port of Montrose in Scotland, and sailed into Flanders, to Sluys, to hear tidings, and to know if there were any nobleman in that country that would go to Jerusalem, to the intent to have more company.

And he lay still at Sluys the space of twelve days before he departed, but he would never come a-land, but still kept his ship, and kept always his port and behaviour with great triumph, with trumpets and clarions, as though he had been king

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of Scots himself; and in his company there was a knight-banneret and seven other knights of the realm of Scotland, and twenty-six young squires and gentlemen to serve him; and all his vessels were of gold and silver—pots, basins, ewers, dishes, flagons, barrels, cups, and all other things; and all such as would come and see him, they were well served with two manner of wines and divers manner of spices, all manner of people according to their degrees.

And when he had thus tarried there the space of twelve days, he heard reported that Alphonso, king of Spain, made war against a Saracen king of Granada. Then he thought to draw to that part, thinking surely he could not bestow his time more nobly than to war against God's enemies; and that enterprise done, then he thought to go forth to Jerusalem, and to achieve that he was charged with.

And so he departed, and took the sea toward Spain, and arrived at the port of Valenza the Great. Then he went straight to the king of Spain, who held his host against the king of Granada Saracen; and they were near together on the frontiers of his land.

And within a while after that this knight Sir James Douglas was come to the king of Spain, on a day the king issued out into the field to approach near to his enemies. And the king of Granada issued out in like wise on his part, so that each

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king might see other with all their banners displayed. Then they arranged their battalions each against other.

Then Sir James Douglas drew out on the one side with all his company, to the intent to shew his prowess the better. And when he saw these battalions thus ranged on both parties, and saw that the battalion of the king of Spain began somewhat to advance toward their enemies, he thought then verily that they should soon assemble together to fight at hand-strokes; and then he thought rather to be with the foremost than with the hindermost, and struck his horse with the spurs, and all his company also, and dashed into the battalion of the king of Granada, crying, "Douglas! Douglas!" weening the king of Spain and his host had followed, but they did not; therefore he was deceived, for the Spanish host stood still.

And so this gentle knight was enclosed, and all his company, by the Saracens, where he did marvels in arms; but finally he could not endure, so that he and all his company were slain: the which was great pity, that the Spaniards would not rescue them.

III

THE YOUTH OF KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND

How King David of Scotland made alliance with King Philip of France.

IN the year of our Lord 1334 the young King David of Scotland, who had lost the best part of his land, and could not recover it out of the hold of the Englishmen, departed privily with a small company, and the queen his wife with him, and took shipping and arrived at Boulogne, and so rode to Paris to King Philip, who greatly did feast him, and offered him of his castles to abide in, and of his goods to spend, on the condition that he should make no peace with the king of England without his counsel and agreement; for King Philip knew well how the king of England apparelled greatly to make war on him.

So thus the king there retained King David and the queen a long season, and they had all that they needed at his cost and charge; for out of Scotland came but little substance to maintain withal their state. And the French king sent certain messengers

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into Scotland to the lords there, such as kept war against the Englishmen, offering them great aid and comfort, so that they would take no peace nor truce with the king of England, without it were by his agreement or by the accord of their own king, who had in like wise promised and sworn.

Then the lords of Scotland counselled together, and joyously they accorded to his request, and so sealed and sware with the king their lord. Thus this alliance was made between Scotland and France, the which endured a long season after: and the French king sent men of war into Scotland to keep war against the Englishmen, as Sir Arnold d'Andreghen, who was after Marshal of France, and the Lord of Garancières, and divers other knights and squires.

The French king thought that the Scots should give so much ado to the realm of England that the Englishmen should not come over the sea to annoy him. Howbeit for all that King Edward came over the sea at two times, and took on him to bear the arms of France and the name, to be called king thereof; and he made great alliances in the Empire, and at the last he came with the allies and laid siege to the city of Tournay, wherein were the chief men of war of all France.

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How the Scots won again great part of Scotland while the King of England was at siege before Tournay.

Now it is to be remembered how Sir William Douglas, son of James Douglas' brother, who died in Spain, and the Earl Patrick of Dunbar, the Earl of Sutherland, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir Simon Fraser, and Alexander Ramsay, they were captains in such part of Scotland as was left unwon by the Englishmen. And they had continued in the Forest of Jedworth the space of seven years, winter and summer, and as they might they made war against the Englishmen being there in garrison.

In this said forest the old King Robert of Scotland did keep himself, when King Edward the First conquered nigh all Scotland; for he was so often chased that none durst lodge him in castle nor fortress for fear of the said king. And ever when the king was returned into England, then he would gather together again his people, and conquer towns, castles, and fortresses, just to Berwick, some by battle and some by fair speech and love. And when the said King Edward heard thereof, then would he assemble his power and win the realm of Scotland again. Thus the chance went between these two foresaid kings: it was shewed me how that this King Robert won and lost his realm five times. So this continued till the said King Edward died at Berwick.

And when he saw that he should die, he called

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before him his eldest son, who was king after him, and there before all the barons he caused him to swear that as soon as he were dead, he should take his body and boil it in a cauldron till the flesh departed clean from the bones, and then to bury the flesh and still keep the bones; and that as often as the Scots should rebel against him he should assemble his people against them, and carry with him the bones of his father; for he believed verily that if they had his bones with them the Scots should never attain any victory against them. The which thing was not accomplished, for when the king was dead, his son carried him to London, and there he was buried, wherefore mischief befel him after, as ye have heard.

Now let us return to our first purpose. While the king of England was at siege before Tournay, the French king again sent men of war into Scotland, and they arrived at St. John's town. And they desired the Scots, in the French king's name, that they would set on and make such war in the realm of England that the king might be fain to return home to rescue his own realm, and to raise the siege at Tournay: and the French king promised them men and money to aid them so to do.

And so the Scots departed out of the Forest of Jedworth, and passed through Scotland, and won again divers fortresses, and so passed the town of Berwick and the river of Tyne, and entered into the country of Northumberland, the which sometime was

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a realm. There they found great plenty of beasts, and wasted and burnt all the country to Durham; then they returned by another way, destroying the country.

In this voyage they destroyed more than three days' journey into the realm of England, and then returned into Scotland, and conquered again all the fortresses that were holden by the Englishmen, except the city of Berwick and three other castles, the which did them great trouble. They were so strong that it would have been hard to have found any such in any country: the one was Stirling, another Roxburgh, and the third the chief of all Scotland, Edinburgh, the which castle standeth on a high rock, that a man must rest once or twice before he come to the highest of the hill; and captain there was Sir Walter Limousin.

So it was that Sir William Douglas devised a feat, and discovered his intention to his companions, to the Earl Patrick, to Sir Simon Fraser, and to Alexander Ramsay; and all they agreed together. Then they took a two hundred of the wild Scots, and entered into the sea, and made provision of oats, meal, coals, and wood; and so peaceably they arrived at a port near to the castle of Edinburgh.

And in the night they armed them and took a ten or twelve of their company, such as they did trust best, and did disguise them in poor torn coats and hats, like poor men of the country, and charged a twelve small horses with sacks, some with oats, some

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with wheatmeal, and some with coals; and they did set all their company in an ambush in an old destroyed abbey thereby, near to the foot of the hill. And when the day began to appear, covertly armed as they were, they went up the hill with their merchandise.

And when they were in the mid way, Sir William Douglas and Sir Simon Fraser, disguised as they were, went a little before and came to the porter and said, "Sir, in great fear we have brought hither oats and wheatmeal; and if ye have any need thereof, we will sell it to you good cheap."

"Marry," said the porter, "and we have need thereof; but it is so early that I dare not awake the captain nor his steward. But let them come in, and I shall open the outer gate." And so they all entered into the gate of the bails: Sir William saw well how the porter had the keys in his hands of the great gate of the castle.

Then when the first gate was opened, as ye have heard, their horses with carts entered in; and the two that came last, laden with coals, they made them to fall down on the ground-sill of the gate, to the intent that the gate should not be closed again. And then they took the porter and slew him so peaceably, that he never spake word.

Then they took the great keys and opened the castle gate: then Sir William Douglas blew a horn, and they cast away their torn coats and laid all the other sacks overthwart the gate, to the intent that it should not be shut again. And when they of the

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ambush heard the horn, in all haste they might they mounted the hill.

Then the watchman of the castle with noise of the horn awoke, and saw how the people were coming all armed to the castle-ward. Then he blew his horn and cried, "Treason! Treason! Sirs, arise and arm you shortly, for yonder be men of arms approaching to your fortress."

Then every man arose and armed them and came to the gate; but Sir William Douglas and his twelve companions defended so the gate, that they could not close it: and so by great valiantness they kept the entry open, till their ambush came.

They within defended the castle as well as they might, and hurt divers of them without; but Sir William and the Scots did so much, that they conquered the fortress, and all the Englishmen within were slain, except the captain and six other squires.

So the Scots tarried there all that day, and made a knight of the country captain there, called Sir Simon de Vesci, and with him divers other of the country. These tidings came to the king of England before Tournay.

How the siege before Tournay was broken up by reason of a truce, and how the King of England again made war on the Scots.

The siege of Tournay endured a long season, the space of eleven weeks three days less; and all that

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season the Lady Jane of Valois, sister to the French king, travailed greatly to have a respite and a peace between the parties, so that they might depart without battle.

And so finally they were accorded on a truce to endure for a year between all parties and all their men. Then the king of England came to Ghent to the queen his wife, and shortly after passed the sea, and all his.

And the Scots lay still at siege, with certain Frenchmen with them, such as King Philip had sent thither to help them before Stirling: and they within were so sore constrained that they saw well they could not long endure.

And when the king of England was returned from the siege of Tournay, and came into his own realm, he was counselled to ride toward Scotland: and so he did; he rode thitherward between Michaelmas and All Saints, commanding every man to follow him to Berwick; then every man began to stir, and to draw thither as they were commanded.

The king at last came to York, and there tarried for his people: the lords of Scotland were informed of the coming of the king of England, wherefore they made sorer assaults to the castle of Stirling, and constrained so them within with engines and cannons, that they were fain to yield up the castle, saving their lives and members, but nothing they should carry away.

These tidings came to the king of England where

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he was; then he departed and drew toward Stirling, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there lodged and tarried more than a month, abiding provision for his host; the which was put on the sea between St. Andrew's tide and All Saints, but divers of their ships were perished, for they had such tempest on the sea that small provision came thither. Some were driven into Holland and into Friesland, whereby the English host had great default of victuals, and everything was dear, and winter at hand, so that they wist not where to have forage; and in Scotland the Scots had put all their goods into fortresses, and the king of England had there more than six thousand horsemen and forty thousand footmen.

The lords of Scotland, after their winning of Stirling, they drew into the Forest of Jedworth; and they understood well how the king of England lay at Newcastle with a great number, to burn and to waste the realm of Scotland.

Then they took counsel what they should do: they thought themselves too small a company to maintain the war, seeing how they had continued the wars more than seven years without head or captain, and yet as then they could perceive no succour from their own king.

Then they determined to send to the king of England a bishop and an abbot, to desire a truce; the which messengers departed from Scotland and came to Newcastle, where they found the king. These messengers shewed to the king and to his

The Youth of King David

council the cause of their coming : so then it was agreed a truce to endure four months, on the condition that they of Scotland should send sufficient ambassadors into France to King David, that without he would come within the month of May next following, so puissantly as to resist and defend his realm else they were clearly to yield themselves English, and never to take him more for their king.

So then these two prelates returned again into Scotland, and incontinent they ordained to send into France Sir Robert Erskine and Sir Simon Fraser and two other knights, to shew to their king their appointment. The king of England agreed the sooner to this truce because his host lacked victuals ; so he came back again and sent every man home. The Scottish messengers went toward France, and took shipping at Dover.

Now King David, who had been a seven year in France, and knew well that his realm was sore destroyed, took leave of the French king to go home into his own country, to comfort his people : so he took shipping, with his wife and such company as he had, at a port, and did put himself under the guiding of a mariner, Richard the Fleming : and so he arrived at a port of Moray, or ever that any in Scotland knew thereof ; nor he knew nothing of the messengers that were gone into France to speak with him, nor they knew not of his returning home.

Froissart in Britain

How King David of Scotland came with a great host to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

When that young King David was come into his country, his men came about him with great joy and solemnity, and brought him to the town of St. John's: thither came people from all parts to see him, and then every man shewed him the damages and destruction that King Edward and the Englishmen had done in Scotland.

Then he said, "Well, I shall be well revenged, or else lose all my realm and my life in the striving."

Then he sent messengers to all parts far and near, desiring every man to help him in his business: at his sending, thither came the Earl of Orkney, a great prince and a puissant; he had married the king's sister—he brought a great number of men of war with him, and divers other lords and knights of Sweden, of Norway, and of Denmark, some for love and some for wages, so that when they were all together they were a sixty thousand men afoot, and on hackneys a three thousand armed, after their manner.

When they were all ready, they removed to go into England, to do there as much hurt as they might (for the truce was then expired), or else to fight with the king of England, who had caused them to suffer much disease.



KING DAVID AND HIS ARMY BEFORE NEWCASTLE

The Youth of King David

The Scots departed from St. John's town and went to Dunfermline, and the next day there they passed a little arm of the sea; then they went with great diligence and passed by Edinburgh, and after by Roxburgh, the which was then English, but they made no assault there because they would have none of their company hurt, nor waste none of their artillery.

They thought to do a greater deed before they returned into Scotland, and so afterwards they passed not far off from Berwick, and went by without any assault giving, and so entered into the country of Northumberland and came to the river of Tyne, burning all the country round about there, and at last came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there King David lay and all his people about the town that night.

And in the morning a certain number of gentlemen that were in the town issued out, to the number of two hundred spears, to make an alarm in the Scottish host; they dashed into the Scottish host right on the Earl of Moray's tents, who bare in his armour, silver three cushions gules. There they took him in his bed, and slew many before the host was moved, and won great pillage: then they returned into the town boldly, with great joy, and delivered the Earl of Moray as prisoner to the captain of the castle, the Lord John Nevill.

When the Scots were up, they armed them, and ran like madmen to the barriers of the town, and

Froissart in Britain

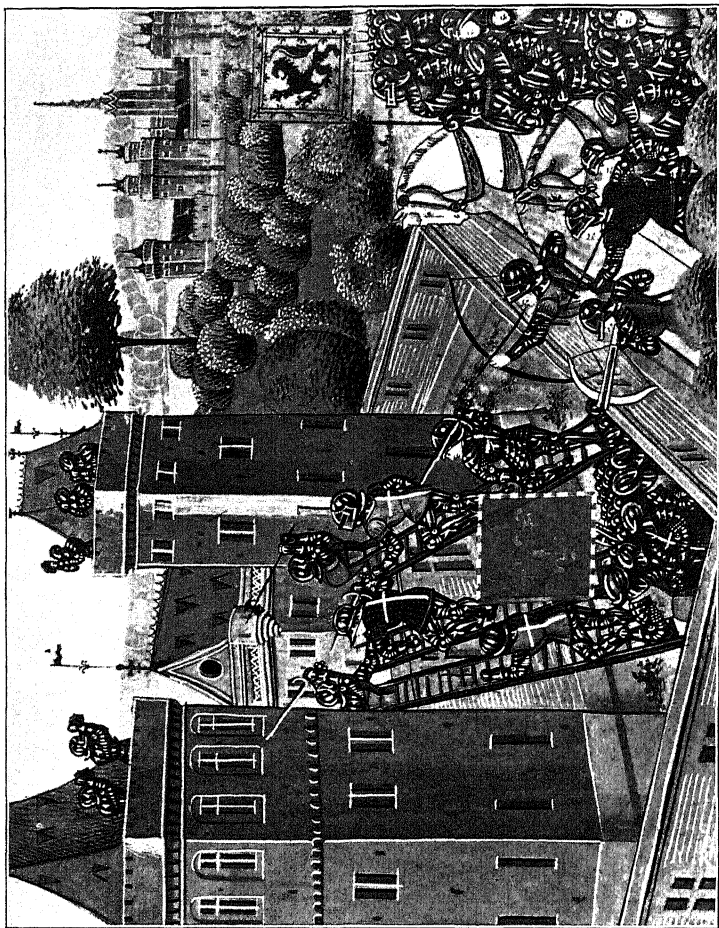
made a great assault, the which endured long, but little it availed them, and they lost there many men, for there were many good men of war within, who defended themselves so wisely that the Scots were fain at last to withdraw aback to their loss.

How King David of Scotland destroyed the city of Durham.

When that King David and his council saw that his tarrying about Newcastle was dangerous, and there he could win thereby neither profit nor honour, then he departed, and entered into the country of the bishopric of Durham, and there they burnt and wasted all before them, and so came to the city of Durham and laid siege round about it, and made many great assaults like madmen, because they had lost the Earl of Moray: and they knew well there was much riches in the city, for all the country thereabout was fled thither; the Scots made engines and instruments to come to the walls, to make the fiercer assault.

And when the Scots were gone from Newcastle, then Sir John Nevill, captain there, mounted on a good horse and took away far off from the Scots, and did so much that within five days he came to Chertsey, where King Edward lay then: there he shewed the king tidings of the Scots.

Then the king sent forth messengers into every part, commanding every man between the ages of



FRENCHMEN AND SCOTS ASSAULTING AN ENGLISH TOWN

The Youth of King David

sixty and fifteen, all excuses laid apart, to draw northward and to meet him in that country, to aid and defend his country that the Scots destroyed.

Then lords, knights, squires, and all others, drew toward the north: the king departed himself hastily, and tarried for no man, and every man followed as well as they might.

In the mean season the Scots assaulted the city of Durham with engines and other instruments so fiercely that they within could not defend themselves, but that the city was won by force, and robbed and clean burnt, and all manner of people put to death without mercy, men, women, and children, monks, priests, and canons, so that there abode alive no manner of person, house, nor church, but it was destroyed; the which was great pity so to destroy Christian blood, and the churches of God, wherein God was honoured and served.

How the Scots besieged a castle of the Earl of Salisbury's.

Then King David was counselled to draw aback along by the river of Tweed, and to draw toward Scotland; and as he went thitherward he lodged that night beside a castle of the Earl of Salisbury's, the which was well kept with men of war; captain thereof was Sir William Montacute, son to the Earl of Salisbury's brother. The next day the Scots dislodged to go toward Carlisle; they had much car-

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riage with them, of such pillage as they had won at Durham. When Sir William Montacute saw how the Scots passed by without resting, then he, with forty with him, issued out a-horseback, and followed covertly the hinder train of the Scots, who had horses so charged with baggage that they might scant go any great pace: and he overtook them at the entering into a wood, and set on them, and there slew and hurt of the Scots more than two hundred, and took more than six score horses charged with pillage, and so led them toward the castle.

The hue and cry of the flight came to the hearing of Sir William Douglas, who had the charge of the rear-guard, and he was then past the wood: when he saw the Scots come fleeing over the dales and mountains, he had great marvel, and then he and all his company ran forth, and rested not till they came to the foot of the castle, and mounted the hill in haste; but before he came to the barriers the Englishmen were entered, and had closed them, and put their prey in safety.

Then the Scots began to assail fiercely, and they within defended them: there these two Williams did what they might each to grieve other. This assault endured so long that all the host came thither, king and all.

When the king and his council saw how his men were slain, lying in the field, and the assailants sore hurt, without winning of anything, then he com-

The Youth of King David

manded to cease the assault, and to lodge: then every man began to seek for his lodging, and to gather together the dead men, and to dress them that were hurt.

The next day the king of Scots commanded that every man should be ready to assail, and they within were ready to defend: there was a sore assault and a perilous; there might have been seen many noble deeds on both parts.

There was within present the noble Countess of Salisbury, who was then reputed for the most sagest and fairest lady of all England: the castle pertained to her husband, the Earl of Salisbury, who was taken prisoner, with the Earl of Suffolk, before Lille in Flanders, and was in prison then in the Châtelet of Paris; the king of England gave the same castle to the said Earl, when he married first the said lady, for the prowess and good service that he had done before, when he was called but Sir William Montacute.

This noble lady comforted greatly them within; for by the regard of such a lady, and by her sweet comforting, a man ought to be worth two men at need.

This assault endured long, and the Scots lost many of their men, for they adventured themselves hardily, and carried wood and timber to have filled the dykes, to the intent to bring their engines to the walls; but they within defended themselves so valiantly that the assailants were fain to draw aback.

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Then the king commanded the engines to be well guarded that night, and the next day to enforce the assault; then every man drew to their lodgings, except those that guarded the engines. Some wept the death of their friends, others comforted them that were hurt.

They of the castle said well, if King David continued his siege, how they should have much ado to defend them and their castle: wherefore they took counsel among them to send to King Edward, who lay at York, as it was shewed them by such prisoners as they had taken of the Scots. Then they looked among them who should do the message; but they could find none that would leave the castle and the presence of the fair lady, to do the deed: so there was among them great strife.

Then when the captain, Sir William Montacute, saw that, he said, "Sirs, I see well the truth and goodwill that ye bear to my lady of this house, so that for the love of her, and for you all, I shall put my body in adventure to do this message; for I have such trust in you, that ye shall right well defend this castle till I return again; and on the other side I have such trust in the king, our sovereign lord, that I shall shortly bring you such succours as shall cause you to be joyful; and then I trust the king shall so reward you that ye shall be content."

Of these words the Countess and all others were right joyful: and when the night came, the said Sir

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William made him ready as privily as he might; and it happed so well for him that it rained all night, so that the Scots kept still within their lodgings.

Thus at midnight Sir William Montacute passed through the host, and was not seen, and so rode forth till it was day: then he met two Scots half a league from the host, driving before them two oxen and a cow toward the host.

Sir William knew well they were Scots, and set on them and wounded them both, and slew the cattle, to the intent that they of the host should have none ease by them: then he said to the two hurt Scots, "Go your ways, and say to your king that William of Montacute hath thus passed through his host, and is going to fetch aid of the king of England," and so departed.

Then the same morning the king of Scots made a fierce assault, but nothing could he win; and every day lightly they made assault: then his council saw how he did but lose his men, and that the king of England might well come thither before the castle were won.

Then they by one accord counselled their king to depart, saying how the abiding there was not for his profit nor yet for his honour, and said, "Sir, ye have honourably achieved your enterprise, and have done great despite to the Englishmen, in that ye have been in this country a twelve days, and taken and destroyed the city of Durham; wherefore

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Sir, all things considered, it were good now that ye returned, and take with you your pillage that ye have won, and another time ye may return again, when it pleaseth you."

The king, who would not do against the opinions of all his council, agreed to them, sore against his mind; howbeit the next morning he dislodged, and all his host, and took the way straight to the great Forest of Jedworth, there to tarry at their ease and to know what the king of England would do farther, either to go back again or else to enter into Scotland.

IV

KING EDWARD AND THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

How the King of England was in love with the Countess of Salisbury.

THE same day that the Scots departed from the said castle of the Earl of Salisbury's, King Edward came thither with all his host, about noon, and came to the same place where the Scots had lodged, and was sore displeased that he found not the Scots there, for he came thither in such haste that his horses and men were sore travailed.

Then he commanded to lodge there that night, and said how he would go see the castle, and the noble lady therein, for he had not seen her since she was married before: then every man took his lodgings as he list.

And as soon as the king was unarmed, he took a ten or twelve knights with him, and went to the castle to salute the Countess of Salisbury, and to see the manner of the assaults of the Scots, and the defence that was made against them.

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As soon as the lady knew of the king's coming, she set open the gates, and came out so richly beseen that every man marvelled of her beauty, and could not cease to regard her nobleness with her great beauty, and the gracious words and countenance that she made.

When she came to the king, she kneeled down to the earth, thanking him of his succours, and so led him into the castle, to make him cheer and honour, as she that could right well do it. Every man regarded her marvellously; the king himself could not withhold his regarding of her, for he thought that he never saw before so noble nor so fair a lady: he was stricken therewith to the heart with a sparkle of fine love, that endured long after; he thought no lady in the world so worthy to be beloved as she.

Thus they entered into the castle hand in hand; the lady led him first into the hall, and after into the chamber, nobly apparelled. The king regarded so the lady that she was abashed: at last he went to a window to rest him, and so fell in a great study; the lady went about to make cheer to the lords and knights that were there, and commanded to dress the hall for dinner.

When she had all devised and commanded, then she came with a merry cheer to the king, who was in a great study, and she said, "Dear Sir, why do ye study so? for, your Grace not displeased, it appertaineth not to you so to do: rather you should

King Edward and the Countess

make good cheer and be joyful, seeing ye have chased away your enemies, who durst not abide you; let other men study, for the remnant."

Then the king said, "Ah! dear lady, know for truth that since I entered into the castle, there is a study come to my mind, so that I cannot choose but to muse, nor I cannot tell what shall fall thereof; put it out of my heart I can not."

"Ah! Sir," quoth the lady, "ye ought always to make good cheer, to comfort therewith your people: God hath aided you so in your business, and hath given you so great graces, that ye be the most dreaded and honoured prince in all Christendom; and if the king of Scots have done you any despite or damage, ye may well amend it when it shall please you, as ye have done divers times before this. Sir, leave your musing and come into the hall; if it please you, your dinner is all ready."

"Ah! fair lady," quoth the king, "other things lie at my heart, that ye know not of: but surely the sweet behaving, the perfect wisdom, the good grace, nobleness, and excellent beauty that I see in you, hath so sore surprised my heart, that I cannot but love you, and without your love I am but dead."

Then the lady said, "Ah! right noble Prince, for God's sake mock nor tempt me not: I cannot believe that it is true that ye say, nor that so noble a prince as ye be, would think to dishonour me and my lord my husband, who is so valiant a knight and hath done your Grace so good service, and as

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yet lieth in prison for your quarrel. Certainly, Sir, ye should in this case have but a small praise, and nothing the better thereby : I had never as yet such a thought in my heart, nor I trust in God never shall have, for no man living : if I had any such intention, your Grace ought not all only to blame me, but also to punish my body, yea, and by true justice it ought to be dismembered."

Therewith the lady departed from the king, and went into the hall to haste the dinner. Then she returned again to the king, and brought some of his knights with her, and said, "Sir, if it please you to come into the hall, your knights abideth for you to wash ; they have been too long fasting, and you also."

Therewith the king came forth from the window where a long time he had been leaning, and went into the hall, and washed and sat down to dinner among his lords, and the lady also ; but little he ate, for he had other things at heart than to drink or to eat, and as he sat at table he mused greatly : whereof his knights had marvel, for he had used aforetime to laugh and to jest, and gladly to hear idle tales to pass time ; but then he had no care nor inclination thereto. Rather, when he could steal advantage to send but one regard toward the lady, it did him great good, so that to regard and to muse was the most part of the king's dinner.

And after the dinner they bare away the tables : then the king sent Sir Reginald Cobham and Sir

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Richard Stafford to the host and to the company that were lodged below the castle, to know how they fared, and to command that they should apparel themselves, for he would ride forth and follow the Scots; and that they should cause all the carts and harness to go before.

And the king said that in the evening he would be with them, and he ordained the Earl of Pembroke to keep the rear-guard with a five hundred spears, and to tarry for him in the fields until he should come, and all others to ride before.

How the king played at chess with the lady, and how he was discomfited.

The said Earl did all that he was commanded, and the king abode still in the castle near the lady, and hoped well before his departing that he might be answered of her more agreeably.

Then he demanded for the game of chess, and the lady caused it to be brought.

Then the king desired of her that she would play with him, and she lightly accorded thereto, for she made him as good cheer as she could, as she that ought so to do; for the king had done her a fair service when he raised the siege of the Scots from before her castle, whereby she was in great peril; and also the king was by faith and homage her natural lord.

In the beginning of the game of chess, the king,

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who would that some thing of his might remain with the lady, said to her laughing, "Lady, what will you please to adventure on the game?"

And she answered, "Sir, and what will you?"

Then the king put forth on the board a right fair ring that he carried on his finger, with a great ruby.

Then the lady said, "Sir, Sir, I have no ring so rich as yours."

"Lady," said the king, "such as you have, put it forth: I look not so close."

Then the Countess, to do the king's will, drew off from one of her fingers a ring of gold, the which was not of great value.

Then they played at chess together: the lady played with the best skill that she had, to the intent that the king should not hold her too simple and ignorant; the king made but feint, for he played not as well as he knew; and ever between the turns he regarded so the lady that she was ashamed, and made right false moves; and when the king saw how she had lost a rook or a knight or as it might be, he played false in like manner, to recover her game.

So long they played that the king lost, and was utterly discomfited. Then the lady rose, and demanded the wine and spices, for by semblance the king would depart: and she took her ring and put it on her finger, and would well that the king had taken his, and offered it to him, and said, "Sir, it is not befitting that in my house I should have any-

King Edward and the Countess

thing of yours; rather ought you to bear away of mine."

"Lady," said the king, "it is not so; for the game brought this about, and if I had gained, be sure that I had borne away your ring."

The lady would not at that time further press the king, but she went to a damosel of hers and gave her the ring in charge, and said, "When you see that the king shall have departed from hence, and taken leave of me, and that he should mount on his horse, then go you forward and fairly render to him his ring, and say to him how that I will in no wise keep it, for it is not befitting." And the damosel answered that she would do it willingly.

Therewith came spices and wines, whereof the king would not partake before the lady, nor she before him, so that there was great striving all in sport.

Finally it was accorded that they should partake both together, the one with the other, to make short work.

And when this was done, and the king's knights had all drunk, the king took leave of the lady, and said to her a-high, to the intent that none should think thereon, "Lady, ye abide in your castle, and I shall go to follow mine enemies."

Then she inclined herself right low before the king, who openly took her by the hand and a little pressed it in token of love, whereby he had great joy; and he saw how the knights and damosels were

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busy with taking leave each of the other; then he went forward again to speak two words all only to her, "My dear lady, to God I commend you till I return again, requiring you to advise you otherwise than you have said to me."

"Noble Prince," quoth the lady, "God the Father glorious be your guide and put you out of all villain thoughts. Sir, I am and ever shall be ready to do your Grace service to your honour and to mine."

Therewith the king departed from the chamber, and the lady also, who conveyed him as far as to the hall where his palfrey was.

Then the king said that he would not mount on horseback so long as the lady was there, so that to make short work she took leave finally for this time of the king and of his knights, and returned to her chambers with her damosels.

And when the king should mount, the damosel that was commanded by the lady came to the king and kneeled down; and when the king saw that, he lifted her up right quickly, for he thought that she would speak of other matters than that she did.

Then she said, "My lord, here is your ring that my lady sends you again, and she desires you humbly that ye will not have her to keep it in villainy, for she would not that it remain here with her: ye have done so much in other wise that she is bound, she says, ever to be your servant."

The king, who heard the damosel, and saw his

King Edward and the Countess

ring and heard the desire of the Countess and her excusation, was all astonied. Howbeit, when he had considered, and to the intent that the ring might remain there, as he had ordained in himself, he answered briefly, and said, "Damosel, since your lady takes no pleasure of the little gain that she hath won of me, it is yours."

Therewith he mounted and departed, and issued out of the castle, and took the fields with his knights and found the Earl of Pembroke, who tarried for him with five hundred spears.

Then they departed in company, and followed the host; and the damosel of whom ye have heard returned again to her lady, and told her the king's answer, and would have rendered to her the gold ring that the king had lost at chess, but the lady would not take it: she said that she claimed it in no wise, and that the king had given it, so let her make her profit thereof.

Thus the king's ring rested with the damosel: and the king followed the Scots till he came to the city of Berwick.

How the Earl of Salisbury was delivered out of prison by exchange, and of the feast and jousting made at London by the King of England for the love of the Countess of Salisbury.

The king of England tarried there a three days to see if the Scots would issue out to fight with him:

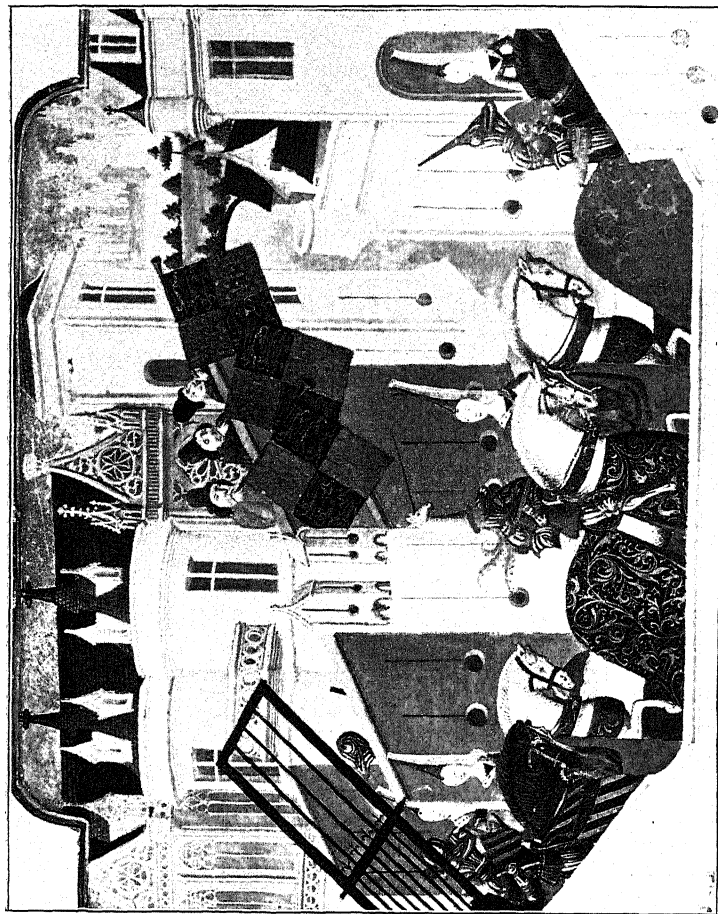
Froissart in Britain

in these three days were divers skirmishes on both parties, and divers slain, taken, and sore hurt among the Scots. Sir William Douglas was he that did most trouble to the Englishmen; he bare azure, a chief silver, thereon three stars gules.

In these said three days there were noblemen on both parties that treated for a peace to be had between these two kings; and their treaty took such effect that a truce was agreed, to endure two year, so that the French king would thereto agree: for the king of Scots was so sore allied to the French king that he might take no peace without his consent. And it was agreed that the Earl of Moray should be quit for his prisonment if the king of Scots could do so much to purchase with the French king, that the Earl of Salisbury might in like manner be quit out of prison.

Then the king of Scots sent great messengers to the French king to agree to this truce; the French king was content, seeing it was the desire of the king of Scots: then the Earl of Salisbury was sent into England, and the king of England sent incontinent the Earl of Moray into Scotland.

Now ye have heard before how the king of England was stricken in love with the Countess of Salisbury: love quickened him day and night; her fresh beauty and goodly demeanour was ever in his remembrance, though the Earl of Salisbury was one of the priviest of his council, and one of them that had done him best service.



JOUSTS AT LONDON IN HONOUR OF THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

King Edward and the Countess

So it fell that for the love of this lady, and for the great desire that the king had to see her, he caused a great feast to be cried, and a jousting, to be holden in the city of London in the midst of August: the which cry was also made in Flanders, in Hainault, in Brabant, and in France, giving all comers out of every country safe conduct to come and go.

And he had given in commandment through his own realm that all lords, knights, squires, ladies, and damosels should be there without any excuse; and commanded expressly the Earl of Salisbury that the lady his wife should be there, and bring with her all ladies and damosels of that country.

The Earl granted the king this, as he that thought no evil: the good lady durst not say nay; howbeit she came sore against her will, for she thought well enough wherefore it was, but she durst not discover the matter to her husband: she thought she would deal so to bring the king from his opinion.

This was a noble feast: there was the Earl William of Hainault and Sir John of Hainault his uncle, and a great number of lords and knights of high lineage; Sir Henry with the wry neck, Earl of Lancaster, and Sir Henry his son, Earl of Derby; Sir Robert d'Artois, Earl of Richmond, the Earl of Northampton and of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Arundel, the

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Earl of Cornwall, the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Suffolk, the Baron of Stafford, and divers other lords and knights of England.

There was great dancing and jousting the space of fifteen days; the Lord John, eldest son to the Viscount Beaumont in England, was slain in the jousts.

All ladies and damosels were freshly beseen, according to their degrees, except Katherine, Countess of Salisbury; for she went as simply as she might, to the intent that the king should not set his regard on her; for she was fully determined to do no manner of thing that should turn to her dishonour nor to her husband's.

Of the Order of Saint George that King Edward stablished in the Castle of Windsor.

In this season the king of England took pleasure to new reëdify the Castle of Windsor, the which was begun by King Arthur; and there first began the Table Round, whereby sprang the fame of so many noble knights throughout the world. Then King Edward determined to make an Order and a brotherhood of a certain number of knights, to be called knights of the Blue Garter; and a feast to be kept yearly at Windsor on St. George's Day.

And to begin this Order, the king assembled together earls, lords, and knights of his realm, and shewed them his intention: and they all joyously

King Edward and the Countess

agreed to his pleasure, because they saw it was a thing much honourable, and whereby great amity and love should grow and increase.

Then was there chosen out a certain number of the most valiantest men of the realm, and they sware and sealed to maintain the ordinances, such as were devised.

Then the king sent to publish this feast by his heralds, into France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and into the Empire of Germany: the which feast was to begin at Windsor on St. George's Day next after, in the year of our Lord 1344, and the Queen to be there, accompanied with three hundred ladies and damosels, all of noble lineage, and apparelled accordingly.

And as another chronicle maketh mention, there are six and twenty companions or confrères of this fellowship of that Order, being called knights of the Blue Garter, and as one dieth or is deprived, another is admitted into his place.

The king of England is ever chief of this Órder. They wear a blue robe or mantle, and a garter about their left leg, richly wrought with gold and precious stones, having this inscription in French upon it, "Honi soit qui mal y pense"—"Shame come to him that evil thinketh."

This Order is dedicated to St. George, as chief patron of men of war, and therefore every year do the knights of this Order keep solemn his feast with many noble ceremonies, at the Castle of Windsor,

Froissart in Britain

where King Edward founded a college of canons, or rather, augmenting the same, ordained therein a Dean with twelve canons secular, eight peticanons, and thirteen vicars, thirteen clerks, and thirteen choristers.

The knights have certain laws and rules appertaining to their Order, amongst the which this is chiefly to be observed, that they shall aid and defend one another, and never turn their backs or run away out of the field in time of battle where they are present with their sovereign lord, his lieutenant, or deputy, or other captain, having the king's power royal and authority, and where his banners, standards, or pennons are spread.

But now touching these six and twenty noblemen and knights, which were first chosen and admitted into the same Order, by the first founder thereof, this King Edward the Third, their names are as followeth:—

First, the said noble prince King Edward the Third, the Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, his eldest son Henry Duke of Lancaster, the Earl of Warwick, the Captal De Buch, Ralph Earl of Stafford, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Roger Lord Mortimer, John Lord Lisle, Bartholomew Lord Burghersh, John Lord Beauchamp, the Lord de Mohun, Hugh Lord Courtenay, Thomas Lord Holland, John Lord Grey of Rotherfield, Sir Richard FitzSimon, Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir Thomas Wale, Sir Hugh Wrotesley,

King Edward and the Countess

Sir Nesle Loring, Sir John Chandos, James Lord Audley, Sir Otho Holland, Sir Henry Eam of Brabant, Sir Sanchio d'Ambreticourt, Sir Walter Pavely.

The cause and first original of instituting this Order is uncertain, but there goeth a tale amongst the people, that it rose by this means. It chanced that King Edward, finding the garter of the Countess of Salisbury, with whom he was in love, being fallen from her leg, stooped down and took it up: whereat divers of his nobles found matter to jest and to talk their fancies merrily touching the king's affection towards the lady. Unto whom he said, that if he lived, it should come to pass that most high honour should be given unto them for the garter's sake: and thereupon shortly after he devised and ordained this Order of the Garter, with such a posy; whereby he signified that his nobles judged otherwise of him than the truth was. Though some may think that so noble an order had but a mean beginning, if this tale be true, yet many honourable degrees of estates have had their beginnings of more base and mean things than of Love, which, being orderly used, is most noble and commendable, since nobility itself is covered under Love.

V

THE BATTLE OF NEVILL'S CROSS

How the King of Scots during the siege before Calais came into England with a great host.

It is long now since we spake of King David of Scotland: howbeit till now there was none occasion why, for the truce that was taken was well and truly kept.

But when the king of England had besieged Calais, and lay there, then the Scots determined to make war into England and to be revenged of such hurts as they had taken before: for they said then how that the realm of England was void of men of war, for they were, as they said, with the king of England before Calais, and some in Brittany, Poitou, and Gascony. The French king did what he could to stir the Scots to that war, to the intent that the king of England should break up his siege and return to defend his own realm.

The king of Scots made his summons to be at St. John's town on the river of Tay in Scotland: thither came earls, barons, and prelates of Scotland, and there agreed that in all haste possible they

The Battle of Nevill's Cross

should enter into England. To come in that journey was desired John of the Out Isles, who governed the wild Scots; for to him they obeyed and to no man else: he came with a three thousand of the most outrageous people in all that country.

When all the Scots were assembled they were, of one and other, a fifty thousand fighting men. They could not make their assembly so secret but that the queen of England, who was then in the marches of the north, about York, knew all their dealing; then she sent all about for men, and lay herself at York; then all men of war and archers came to Newcastle with the queen.

In the mean season the king of Scots departed from St. John's town and went to Dunfermline, the first day: the next day they passed a little arm of the sea, and so came to Stirling, and then to Edinburgh; then they numbered their company, and they were a three thousand men of arms, knights and squires, and a thirty thousand of others on hackneys.

Then they came to Roxburgh, the first fortress English on that part; captain there was Sir William Montacute: the Scots passed by without any assault making, and so went forth, burning and destroying the country of Northumberland, and their scouts ran to York, and burnt as much as was without the walls, and returned again to their host, within a day's journey of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

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Of the Battle of Nevill's Cross, called also the Battle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, between the Queen of England and the King of Scots.

The queen of England, who desired to defend her country, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there tarried for her men, who came daily from all parts.

When the Scots knew that the Englishmen assembled at Newcastle they drew thitherward, and their scouts came running before the town, and at their returning they burnt certain small hamlets thereabout, so that the smoke thereof came into the town of Newcastle: some of the Englishmen would have issued out to have fought with them that made the fires, but the captains would not suffer them to issue out.

The next day the king of Scots with a forty thousand men, one and other, came and lodged within three little English mile of Newcastle, in the land of the Lord Nevill; and the king sent to them within the town, that if they would issue out into the field, he would fight with them gladly.

The lords and prelates of England said they were content to adventure their lives with the right and heritage of the king of England their master: then they all issued out of the town, and were in number a twelve hundred men of arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand of others, with the Welshmen.



QUEEN PHILIPPA ADDRESSING HER ARMY

The Battle of Nevill's Cross

Then the Scots came and lodged against them, near together: then every man was set in order of battle. Then the queen came among her men, and there were ordained four battalions, one to aid another: the first had in governance the Bishop of Durham and the Lord Percy; the second the Archbishop of York and the Lord Nevill; the third the Bishop of Lincoln and the Lord Mowbray; the fourth the Lord Edward Balliol, Captain of Berwick, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Roos: every battalion had like number after their quantity.

The queen went from battalion to battalion, desiring them to do their duty, to defend the honour of her lord the king of England, and in the name of God, every man to be of good heart and courage; promising them that to her power she would remember them as well, or better, as though her lord the king were there personally. Then the queen departed from them, recommending them to God and to St. George.

Then anon after, the battalions of the Scots began to set forward, and in like wise so did the Englishmen: then the archers began to shoot on both parties; but the shot of the Scots endured but a short space, but the archers of England were quick and light, and shot with good aim and skill, and so fiercely that it was great terror to see, so that when the battalions approached there was a hard battle. They began at nine, and endured till

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noon : the Scots had great axes, sharp and hard, and gave with them many great strokes ; howbeit finally the Englishmen obtained the place and victory, but they lost many of their men.

There were slain of the Scots the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Buchan, the Earl Patrick, the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Strathern, the Earl of Mar, the Earl John Douglas, and the Lord Alexander Ramsay, who bare the king's banner ; and divers other knights and squires.

And there the king was taken, who fought valiantly, and was sore hurt : a squire of Northumberland took him, called John Copeland, and as soon as he had taken the king, he went with him out of the field, with eight of his servants with him, and so rode all that day till he was a fifteen leagues from the place of battle.

And at night he came to a castle called Orgulus : and then he said he would not deliver the king of Scots to no man nor woman living, but all only to the king of England, his lord. The same day there was also taken in the field the Earl of Moray, the Earl of March, the Lord William Douglas, the Lord Robert Erskine, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Bishop of St. Andrews, and divers other knights and barons. And there were slain of one and other a fifteen thousand ; and the others saved themselves as well as they might.

This battle was beside Newcastle, the year of our Lord 1346, the Saturday next after St. Michael.

The Battle of Nevill's Cross

How John Copeland had the King of Scots prisoner, and what profit he gat thereby.

When the queen of England being at Newcastle understood how the fortune of the day was for her and her men, she then rode to the place where the battle had been.

Then it was shewed her how the king of Scots was taken by a squire called John Copeland, and he had carried away the king no man knew whither. Then the queen wrote to the squire, commanding him to bring his prisoner, the king of Scots, and how he had not well done to depart with him without leave.

All that day the Englishmen tarried still in the same place, and the queen with them, and the next day they returned to Newcastle.

When the queen's letter was brought to John Copeland, he answered and said that as for the king of Scots his prisoner, he would not deliver him to no man nor woman living, but all only to the king of England his sovereign lord: as for the king of Scots, he said he should be safely kept, so that he would give account for him.

Then the queen sent letters to the king to Calais, whereby the king was informed of the state of his realm: then the king sent incontinent to John Copeland, that he should come over the sea to him to the siege before Calais.

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Then the same John did put his prisoner in safe keeping in a strong castle, and so rode through England till he came to Dover, and there took the sea and arrived before Calais.

When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand and said, "Ah, welcome, my squire, that by your valiantness have taken mine adversary the king of Scots."

The squire kneeled down and said, "Sir, if God by His grace have suffered me to take the king of Scots by true conquest of arms, Sir, I think no man ought to have any envy thereat; for as well God may send by His grace such a fortune to fall to a poor squire as to a great lord: and, Sir, I entreat your Grace, be not discontent with me, though I did not deliver the king of Scots at the commandment of the queen. Sir, I hold of you, as mine oath is to you, and not to her but in all good manner."

The king said, "John, the good service that you have done, and your valiantness, is so much worth, that it must countervail your trespass and be taken for your excuse; and shame have they that bear you any evil will therefor. Ye shall return again home to your house, and then my pleasure is that ye deliver your prisoner to the queen, my wife: and in a reward I assign you near to your house, where ye think best yourself, five hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent to you and to your heirs for ever, and here I make you squire for my body."

The Battle of Nevill's Cross

Then the third day he departed and returned again into England: and when he came home to his own house, he assembled together his friends and kin, and so they took the king of Scots and rode with him to the city of York, and then from the king his lord he presented the king of Scots to the queen, and excused himself so largely that the queen and her council were content.

Then the queen made good provision for the city of York, the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and all other garrisons on the marches of Scotland, and left in those marches the Lord Percy, and the Lord Nevill as governor there: then the queen departed from York toward London.

Then she set the king of Scots in the strong Tower of London, and the Earl of Moray and all other prisoners, and set good keeping over them.

Then she went to Dover and there took the sea, and had so good wind that in a short space she arrived before Calais three days before the feast of All Saints: for whose coming the king made a great feast and dinner to all the lords and ladies that were there. The queen brought many ladies and damosels with her, as well to accompany her as to see their husbands, fathers, brethren and other friends, that lay at siege there before Calais, and had done so a long space.

VI

THE FAREWELL OF QUEEN PHILIPPA

How Queen Philippa of England passed out of this mortal life, and of the three gifts that she desired of the King her husband before she died.

IN the mean season there fell in England a heavy case and a common; howbeit it was right piteous for the king, his children, and all his realm; for the good queen of England, that so many good deeds had done in her time, and so many knights succoured, and ladies and damosels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goods to her people, and naturally loved always the nation of Hainault, the country where she was born, she fell sick in the castle of Windsor; the which sickness continued on her so long that there was no remedy but death.

And the good lady, when she knew and perceived that there was with her no remedy but death, she desired to speak with the king her husband. And when he was before her, she put out of her bed her right hand and took the king by his right hand, who was right sorrowful at his heart: then she said,

The Farewell of Queen Philippa

"Sir, we have in peace, joy, and great prosperity, used all our time together : Sir, now I pray you at our parting, that ye will grant me three desires."

The king, right sorrowfully weeping, said, "Madame, desire what ye will, I grant it."

"Sir," said she, "I require you first of all, that all manner of people, such as I have dealt withal in their merchandise, on this side the sea or beyond, that it may please you to pay everything that I owe to them, or to any other : and secondly, Sir, all such ordinance and promises as I have made to the churches, as well of this country as beyond the sea, where I have had my devotion, that it may please you to accomplish and to fulfil the same.

"Thirdly, Sir, I require you that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whensoever it shall please God to call you out of this transitory life, but beside me in Westminster."

The king, all weeping, said, "Madame, I grant all your desire."

Then the good lady and queen made on her the sign of the cross, and commended the king her husband to God, and her youngest son Thomas who was there beside her ; and anon after, she yielded up the spirit ; the which I believe surely the holy angels received with great joy up to heaven ; for in all her life she did neither in thought nor deed thing, whereby to lose her soul, as far as any creature could know.

Thus the good queen of England died, in the

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year of our Lord 1369, in the vigil of our Lady in the midst of August.

And in a seven year after, on Trinity Sunday, there passed out of this world the flower of chivalry of England, Edward Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, eldest son to the said King Edward and Queen Philippa. And the next year after, at Sheen, a four leagues from London along by the Thames' side, the king of England fell sore sick, and passed out of this world on the vigil of St. John Baptist, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and seventy-seven.

Then was there great sorrow made in England, and the body of King Edward the Third, with great processions, weepings, and lamentations, was brought along the city of London, with open visage, to Westminster: and there he was buried beside the queen his wife.

And anon after, the young King Richard was crowned at the Palace of Westminster with great solemnity.

VII

WAT TYLER'S REBELLION

How the Commons of England rebelled against the Noblemen.

IN the youth of King Richard there fell in England great mischief and rebellion, and movement of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery: there was never realm nor country in so great risk as it was in that time, and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion; as sometime they did in France, the which did much hurt, for by such incidents the realm of France hath been greatly grieved.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England: and to give ensample to all manner of people, I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof.

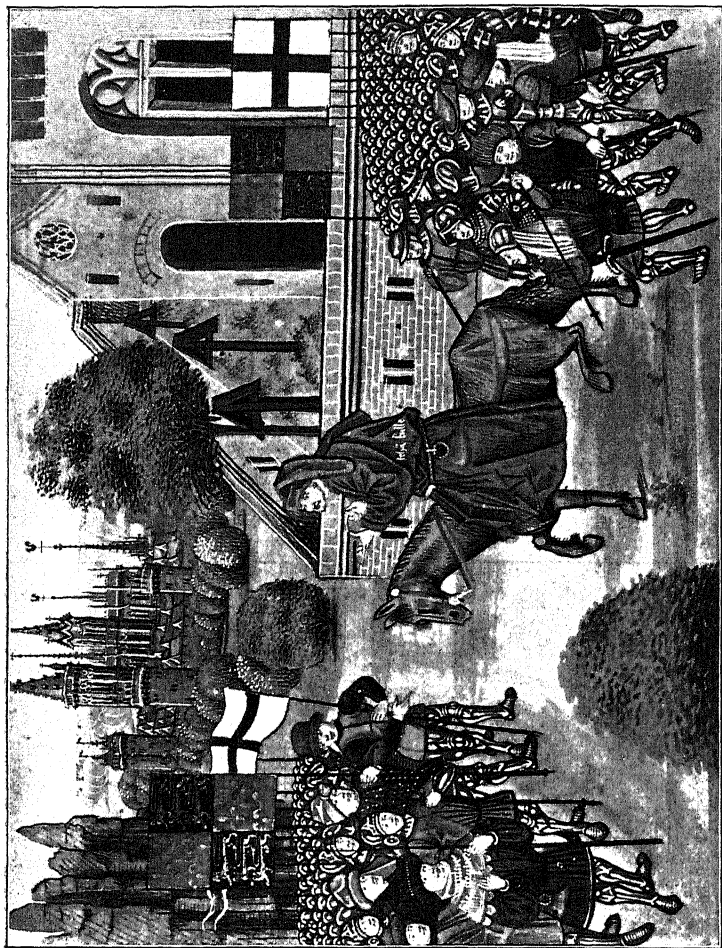
There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen have great rights over the commons, and keep them in vil-

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leinage; that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corn; and some to thresh and to fan, and by villein service to make their hay, and to hew their wood and bring it home; all these things they ought to do by villeinage; and there be more of these people in England than in any other realm: thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the country of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Bedford.

These unhappy people of these said countries began to stir because they said they were kept in great bondage, and in the beginning of the world they said there were no bondmen; wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God: but they said they could have no such battle as that, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying, why should they then be kept so under like beasts; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all equal; and if they laboured or did anything for their lords, they would have wages therefore as well as others.

And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the country of Kent, called John Ball: for the which foolish words he had been three times in the Archbishop of Canterbury's prison: for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after Mass, when the people were going out of the Minster, to go into



JOHN BALL PREACHING

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus :—

“Ah! ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till every-thing be common, and that there be no villeins nor gentlemen, but that we may be all made one together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved, or why should we be kept thus in bondage? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve: whereby can they say or shew that they be greater lords than we be? saving by that which they cause us to win and labour, for that they spend; they are clothed in velvet and camlet furred with grise, and we be vested with poor cloth; they have their wines, spices, and good bread, and we have the drawing out of the chaff, and drink water; they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind, in the fields, and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates: we be called their bondmen, and without we readily do them service, we be beaten, and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right.

“Let us go to the king, he is young, and shew him what bondage we be in, and shew him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy; and if we go together, all manner of people that be now in any bondage will follow

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us, to the intent to be made free; and when the king seeth us, we shall have some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise."

Thus John Ball said on Sundays when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth: and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was informed of the saying of this John Ball, caused him to be taken and put in prison a two or three months, to chastise him: howbeit it had been much better at the beginning that he had been condemned to perpetual prison, or else to have died, rather than to have suffered him to have been again delivered out of prison; but the Archbishop had conscience to let him die.

And when this John Ball was out of prison, he returned again to his error, as he did before. Of his words and deeds there were much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble: and then they began to speak among them, and said how the realm of England was right ill governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen.

So thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel, and assembled them together and sent word

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

to the foresaid countries that they should come to London and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them, and the commons of the city to be of the same accord; saying how they would do so much to the king that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford and of the countries about, that they rose and came towards London, to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Walter Tyler, and with him in company were Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Walter Tyler, and he was in deed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron.

When these unhappy men began thus to stir, they of London, except such as were of their band, were greatly afraid. Then the Mayor of London and the rich men of the city took counsel together, and when they saw the people thus coming on every side, they caused the gates of the city to be closed, and would suffer no man to enter into the city.

But when they had well imagined, they advised not so to do, for they thought they should thereby put their suburbs in great peril to be burnt: and so they opened again the city, and there entered in at the gates in some places a hundred, two hundred, by twenty and by thirty, and so when they came to London, they entered and lodged.

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And yet in truth three-fourths of these people could not tell what to ask or demand, but followed each other like beasts, as the shepherds did of old time, saying how they would go conquer the Holy Land, and at last all came to nothing. In like wise these villeins and poor people came to London, a hundred mile off, sixty mile, fifty mile, forty mile and twenty mile off, and from all countries about London, but the most part came from the countries before named, and as they came they demanded ever for the king.

The gentlemen of the countries, knights and squires, began to fear, when they saw the people began to rebel; and though they were in fear, it was good reason; for a less occasion they might have been afraid. So the gentlemen drew together as well as they might.

The same day that these unhappy people of Kent were coming to London, there returned from Canterbury the king's mother, Princess of Wales, coming from her pilgrimage. She was in great jeopardy to have been lost, for these people came to her carriage and dealt rudely with her, whereof the good lady was in great fear lest they would have done some villainy to her or to her damosels. Howbeit, God kept her, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, for she never durst tarry by the way.

The same time King Richard her son was at the Tower of London: there his mother found him,

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and with him there was the Earl of Salisbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert of Namur, the Lord of Gommegnies, and divers others, who were in fear of these people that thus gathered together, and wist not what they demanded.

This rebellion was well known in the king's court, before any of these people began to stir out of their houses; but the king nor his council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel. And to the intent that all lords and good people and such as would nothing but good, should take ensample to correct them that be evil and rebellious, I shall shew you plainly all the matter, as it was.

The evil deeds that these Commons of England did to the King's officers, and how they sent a knight to speak with the King.

The Monday before the feast of Corpus Christi, the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred and eighty one, these people issued out of their houses to come to London to speak with the king to be made free, for they would have had no bondman in England.

And so first they came to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and there John Ball had thought to have found the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he was at London with the king.

When Wat Tyler and Jack Straw entered into

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Canterbury, all the common people made great feast, for all the town was of their assent: and there they took counsel to go to London to the king, and to send some of their company over the river of Thames into Essex, into Sussex, and into the countries of Stafford and Bedford, to speak to the people that they should all come to the farther side of London, and thereby to close London round about, so that the king should not stop their passages, and that they should all meet together on Corpus Christi Day.

They that were at Canterbury entered into St. Thomas' Church and did there much hurt, and robbed and brake up the Archbishop's chambers, and in robbing and bearing out their pillage they said, "Ah, this Chancellor of England hath had a good market, to get together all this riches: he shall give us now account of the revenues of England, and of the great profits that he hath gathered since the king's coronation."

When they had this Monday broken the abbey of St. Thomas and the abbey of St. Vincent, they departed in the morning, and all the people of Canterbury with them, and so took the way to Rochester, and sent their people to the villages about. And in their going they beat down and robbed houses of advocates and officers of the king's court and of the Archbishop, and had mercy of none.

And when they were come to Rochester, they had

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there good cheer; for the people of that town tarried for them, for they were of the same sect. And then they went to the castle there and took the knight that had the rule thereof, he was called Sir John Newton, and they said to him, "Sir, it behoveth you to go with us, and you shall be our sovereign captain, and do that we will have you do."

The knight excused himself honestly, and shewed them divers considerations and excuses, but all availed him nothing, for they said unto him, "Sir John, if ye do not as we will have you, ye are but dead." The knight, seeing these people in that fury and ready to slay him, he then feared death and agreed to them, and so they took him with them against his inward will.

And in like wise did they of other countries in England, as Essex, Sussex, Stafford, Bedford, and Warwick, even to Lincoln; for they brought the knights and gentlemen into such obeisance that they caused them to go with them whether they would or not, as the Lord Mauley, a great baron, Sir Stephen of Hales, and Sir Thomas of Cossington, and others.

Now behold the great fortune. If they might have come to their intents, they would have destroyed all the noblemen of England, and thereafter all other nations would have followed the same, and have taken leave and ensample by them, and by them of Ghent and Flanders who rebelled against their lord. The same year the Parisians

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rebelled in like wise and found out the mallets of iron; of whom there were more than twenty thousand, as ye may hear elsewhere; but now we will speak of them of England.

When these people thus lodged at Rochester had done their business there, they departed, and passed the river and came to Dartford, always keeping still their opinions, beating down before them, and all about, the houses of advocates and officers of the courts, and striking off the heads of divers persons. And so long they went forward till they came within a four mile of London, and there lodged on a hill called Blackheath: and as they went they said ever that they were for the king and the noble commons of England.

And when they of London knew that they were come so near to them, the mayor, as ye have heard before, closed the gates and kept straitly all the passages. This order was caused by the mayor, who was called William Walworth, and divers other rich burgesses who were not of their sect: but there were in London of their unhappy opinions more than thirty thousand.

Then these people thus being lodged on Blackheath determined to send their knight to speak with the king, and to shew him how all that they have done or will do is for him and his honour, and how the realm of England hath not been well governed a great space for the honour of the realm nor for the common profit, by his uncles and by the clergy,

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and specially by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Chancellor, whereof they would have account.

This knight durst do none otherwise, but so came by the river of Thames to the Tower. The king and they that were with him in the Tower, desiring to hear tidings, seeing this knight coming made him way, and he was brought before the king into a chamber: and with the king was the Princess his mother, and his two brethren, the Earl of Kent and the Lord John Holland, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Grand Prior of the Hospital of St. John, Sir Robert of Namur, the Lord of Vertaing, the Lord of Gommegnies, Sir Henry of Senzeille, the Mayor of London, and divers other notable burgesses.

This knight, Sir John Newton, who was well known among them, for he was one of the king's officers, he kneeled down before the king and said, "My right redoubted lord, let it not displease your Grace, the message that I must needs shew you; for, dear Sir, it is by force and against my will."

"Sir John," said the king, "say what ye will, I hold you excused."

"Sir, the commons of this realm hath sent me to you to desire you to come and speak with them on Blackheath; for they desire to have none but you: and, Sir, ye need not to have any doubt of your person, for they will do you no hurt, for they hold and will hold you for their king. But, Sir,

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they say they will shew you divers things, the which shall be right necessary for you to take heed of when they speak with you ; of the which things, Sir, I have no charge to shew you : but, Sir, if it may please you to give me an answer such as may appease them, and that they may know for truth that I have spoken with you—for they have my children in hostage till I return again to them, and without I return again they will slay my children incontinent.”

Then the king made him an answer and said, “Sir, ye shall have an answer shortly.” Then the king took counsel what was best for him to do, and it was anon determined that the next morning the king should go down the river by water and without fail speak with them.

And when Sir John Newton heard that answer, he desired nothing else, and so took his leave of the king and of the lords, and returned again into his vessel, and passed the Thames and went to Blackheath, where he had left more than threescore thousand men. And there he answered them that the next morning they should send some of their council to the Thames, and there the king would come and speak with them.

This answer greatly pleased them, and so they passed that night as well as they might, and four out of five of them fasted for lack of victuals, for they had none ; wherewith they were sore displeased, which was good reason.



RICHARD IN HIS BARGE MEETING THE REBELS

Wat Tyler's Rebellion

How the Commons of England entered into London, and of the great evil that they did.

In the morning on Corpus Christi Day the king heard Mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge with the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, and certain knights, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, where was descended down the hill a ten thousand men, to see the king and to speak with him.

And when they saw the king's barge coming, they began to shout, and made such a cry as though all the devils of hell had been among them. And they had brought with them Sir John Newton, to the intent that if the king had not come, they would have stricken him all to pieces, and so they had promised him.

And when the king and his lords saw the demeanour of the people, the best assured of them were in dread; and so the king was counselled by his barons not to take any landing there, but so rowed up and down the river.

And the king demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come thither to speak with them, and they said all with one voice, "We would that ye should come a-land, and then we shall shew you what we lack."

Then the Earl of Salisbury answered for the king

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and said, "Sirs, ye be not in such order nor array that the king ought to speak with you." And so, with those words, no more said : and then the king was counselled to return again to the Tower of London, and so he did.

And when these people saw that, they were inflamed with ire, and returned to the hill where the great band was, and there shewed them what answer they had, and how the king was returned to the Tower of London.

Then they cried all out with one voice, "Let us go to London"; and so they took their way thither : and in their going they beat down abbeys and houses of advocates and of men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses, and specially they brake up the king's prisons, as the Marshalsea and others, and delivered out all the prisoners that were within : and there they did much hurt, and at the bridge foot they threatened them of London because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would burn all the suburbs and so conquer London by force, and slay and burn all the commons of the city.

There were within the city many of their accord, and so they drew together and said, "Why do we not let these good people enter into the city? they are our fellows, and that that they do is for us." So therewith the gates were opened, and then these people entered into the city, and went into houses,

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and sat down to eat and drink. They desired nothing but it was incontinent brought to them, for every man was ready to make them good cheer and to give them meat and drink to appease them.

Then the captains, as John Ball, Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler, went throughout London, and a twenty thousand with them, and so came to the Savoy, in the way to Westminster, which was a goodly house, and it pertained to the Duke of Lancaster. And when they entered they slew the keepers thereof, and robbed and pilld the house; and when they had so done, then they set fire on it and clean destroyed and burnt it.

And when they had done that outrage, they left not therewith, but went straight to the fair Hospital of the Knights of Rhodes, called St. John's of the Temple, and there they burnt house, hospital, minster, and all. Then they went from street to street, and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place; there was none respited from death. And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards, and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay.

And they slew in the city a rich merchant called Richard Lyon, to whom before that time Wat Tyler had done service in France; and on a time this Richard Lyon had beaten him while he was his servant, the which Wat Tyler then remembered, and so came to his house, and struck off his head

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and caused it to be borne on a spear-point before him all about the city.

Thus these ungracious people demeaned themselves like people enraged and mad, and so that day they did much sorrow in London. And so against night they went to lodge at St. Katherine's before the Tower of London, saying how they would never depart thence till they had the king at their pleasure, and till he had accorded to them all that they would ask, and they would have accounts of the Chancellor of England, to know where all the money was become that he had levied through the realm, and without he made a good account to them thereof, it should not be for his profit.

And so when they had done all these evils to the strangers all the day, at night they lodged before the Tower.

How the Nobles of England were in great peril to have been destroyed, and of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury and divers others.

Ye may well know and believe that it was great pity for the danger that the king and such as were with him were in. For some time these unhappy people shouted and cried so loud as though all the devils of hell had been among them.

In this evening the king was counselled by his brethren and lords and by Sir William Walworth, mayor of London, and divers other notable and

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rich burgesses, that in the night time they should issue out of the Tower and enter into the city, and so slay all these unhappy people while they were at their rest and asleep; for it was thought that many of them were drunken, whereby they should be slain like flies; also of twenty of them there was scant one in harness.

And surely the good men of London might well have done this at their ease, for they had in their houses secretly their friends and servants ready in harness, and also Sir Robert Knolles was in his lodging, guarding his treasure, with a six score ready at his commandment; in like wise was Sir Perducas d'Albret, who was then in London; inso-much that there might well have been assembled together an eight thousand men ready in harness. Howbeit, there was nothing done, for the residue of the commons of the city were sore feared, lest they should rise also, and the commons before were a threescore thousand or more.

Then the Earl of Salisbury and the wise men about the king said, "Sir, if ye can appease them with fairness, it were best and most profitable, and to grant them everything that they desire; for if we should begin a thing the which we could not achieve, we should never recover it again, but we and our heirs should be ever disherited." So this counsel was taken, and the mayor countermanded, and so commanded that he should not stir; and he did as he was commanded, as reason was.

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And in the city with the mayor there were twelve aldermen, whereof nine of them held with the king, and the other three took part with these ungracious people, as it was after well known; the which they full dearly bought.

And on the Friday in the morning the people, being at St. Katherine's, near to the Tower, began to make themselves ready, and to cry and shout, and said, without the king would come out and speak with them they would assail the Tower, and take it by force, and slay all them that were within. Then the king feared these words, and so was counselled that he should issue out to speak with them; and then the king sent to them that they should all draw to a fair plain place called Mile-end, where the people of the city did sport them in the summer season, and there the king would grant them that they desired; and there it was cried in the king's name, that whosoever would speak with the king, let him go to the said place, and there he should not fail to find the king.

Then the people began to depart, specially the commons of the villages, and went to the said place; but all went not thither, for they were not all of one condition; for there were some that desired nothing but riches and the utter destruction of the noblemen, and to have London robbed and pillied.

That was the principal matter of their beginning, the which they well shewed; for as soon as the Tower gate opened, and the king was issued out



THE MURDER OF THE ARCHBISHOP

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with his two brethren and the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert of Namur, the Lord of Vertaing, the Lord of Gommegnies, and divers others, then Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, and more than four hundred, entered into the Tower, and brake up chamber after chamber, and at last found the Archbishop of Canterbury, called Simon, a valiant man and a wise, and chief Chancellor of England; and a little before he had said Mass before the king.

These gluttons took him and struck off his head, and also they beheaded the Grand Prior of St. John's; and a friar minor, master in medicine, pertaining to the Duke of Lancaster, they slew him in despite of his master, and a sergeant-at-arms called John Leg: and these four heads were set on four long spears, and they made them to be borne before them through the streets of London, and at last set them a-high on London Bridge, as though they had been traitors to the king and to the realm.

Also these gluttons entered into the Princess' chamber and brake her bed, whereby she was so sore affrayed that she swooned; and there she was taken up and borne to the water side, and put into a barge and covered, and so conveyed to a place called the Queen's Wardrobe, and there she was all that day and night, like a woman half dead, till she was comforted with the king her son, as ye shall hear after.

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How some part of the people were appeased, and of the valiant end of a knight of England.

When the king came to the said place of Mile-end without London, he put out of his company his two brethren, the Earl of Kent and Sir John Holland, and the Lord of Gommegnies, for they durst not appear before the people: and when the king and his other lords were there, he found there a threescore thousand men of divers villages and of sundry countries in England.

So the king entered in among them, and said to them sweetly, "Ah, ye good people, I am your king; what lack ye? what will ye say?"

Then such as heard him said, "We will that ye make us free for ever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands, and that we be called no more bond, nor so reputed."

"Sirs," said the king, "I am well agreed thereto: withdraw you home into your own houses, and into such villages as ye came from, and leave behind you of every village two or three, and I shall cause writings to be made, and seal them with my seal, the which they shall have with them, containing everything that ye demand, and to the intent that ye shall be the better assured, I shall cause my banners to be delivered into every bailiwick, shire, and country."

These words appeased well the common people,

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such as were simple and good plain men, that were come thither and wist not why. They said, "It was well said, we desire no better."

Thus these people began to be appeased, and began to withdraw them into the city of London. And the king also said a word, the which greatly contented them. He said, "Sirs, among you good men of Kent, ye shall have one of my banners with you, and ye of Essex another, and ye of Sussex, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Yarmouth, of Stafford and of Lynn, each of you one: and also I pardon everything that ye have done hitherto, so that ye follow my banners, and return home to your houses." They all answered how they would so do.

Thus these people departed and went into London: then the king ordained more than thirty clerks the same Friday to write with all diligence letters patent, and sealed with the king's seal, and delivered them to these people.

And when they had received the writing they departed, and returned into their own countries; but the great venom remained still behind, for Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball said, for all that these people were thus appeased, yet they would not depart so; and they had of their accord more than thirty thousand. So they abode still, and made no press to have the king's writing nor seal, for all their intent was to put the city to trouble in such wise as to slay all the rich and honest persons, and to rob and pill their houses.

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They of London were in great fear of this, wherefore they kept their houses privily with their friends and such servants as they had, every man according to his puissance.

And when these said people were this Friday thus somewhat appeased, and it was agreed that they should depart as soon as they had their writings, every man home into his own country, then King Richard came into the Royal, where the Princess his mother was, right sore afraid: so he comforted her as well as he could and tarried there with her all that night.

Yet I shall shew you of an adventure that fell by these ungracious people before the city of Norwich, by a captain among them called William Lister of Stafford.

The same day of Corpus Christi that these people entered into London and burnt the Duke of Lancaster's house, called the Savoy, and the hospital of St. John's of the Temple, and brake up the king's prisons and did all this hurt, as ye have heard before, the same time there assembled together they, of Stafford, of Lynn, of Cambridge, of Bedford and of Yarmouth; and as they were a-coming towards London they had a captain among them called Lister. And as they came, they rested them before Norwich, and in their coming they caused every man to rise with them, so that they left no villeins behind them.

The cause why they rested before Norwich I shall shew you. There was a knight, captain of

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the town, called Sir Robert Sale. He was no gentleman born, but he had the grace to be reputed sage and valiant in arms, and for his valiantness King Edward made him knight. He was of his body one of the biggest knights in all England. Lister and his company thought to have had this knight with them, and to make him their chief captain, to the intent to be the more feared and beloved : so they sent to him that he should come and speak with them in the field or else they would burn the town.

The knight considered that it was better for him to go and speak with them rather than they should do that outrage to the town : then he mounted on his horse, and issued out of the town all alone, and so came to speak with them.

And when they saw him they made him great cheer, and honoured him much, desiring him to alight off his horse and to speak with them, and so he did : wherein he did great folly ; for when he was alighted, they came round about him and began to speak fair to him, and said, " Sir Robert, ye are a knight and a man greatly beloved in this country, and renowned a valiant man ; and though ye be thus, yet we know you well, ye be no gentleman born, but son to a villein such as we be. Therefore come you with us and be our master, and we shall make you so great a lord that one quarter of England shall be under your obeisance."

When the knight heard them speak thus, it was

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greatly contrarious to his mind, for he thought never to make any such bargain, and answered them with a felonous regard, "Fly away, ye ungracious people, false and evil traitors that ye be: would you that I should forsake my natural lord for such a company of knaves as ye be, to my dishonour for ever? I had rather ye were all hanged, as ye shall be; for that shall be your end."

And with those words he had thought to have leapt again upon his horse, but he failed of the stirrup and the horse started away. Then they cried all at him and said, "Slay him without mercy."

When he heard those words, he let his horse go, and drew out a good sword, and began to skirmish with them, and made a great place about him, that it was pleasure to behold him. There was none that durst approach near him: there were some that approached near him, but at every stroke that he gave he cut off either leg, head, or arm: there was none so hardy but that they feared him; he did there such deeds of arms that it was marvel to regard.

But there were more than forty thousand of these unhappy people; they shot and cast at him, and he was unarmed: to say truth, if he had been of iron or steel, yet he must needs have been slain: but yet before he died he slew twelve out of hand, beside them that he hurt.

Finally he was stricken to the earth, and they cut

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off his arms and legs, and then struck his body all to pieces. This was the end of Sir Robert Sale, which was great pity; for which deed afterward all the knights and squires of England were angry and sore displeased when they heard thereof.

How Wat Tyler was slain, and how the Commons were shamefast before the King, and brake their array.

Now let us return to the king. The Saturday the king departed from the Wardrobe in the Royal, and went to Westminster and heard Mass in the church there, and all his lords with him. And beside the church there was a little chapel with an image of our Lady, which did great miracles, and in whom the kings of England had ever great trust and confidence.

The king made his orisons before this image, and did there his offerings; and then he leapt on his horse, and all his lords, and so the king rode towards London; and when he had ridden a little way, on the left hand there was a way to pass without London.

The same proper morning Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball had assembled their company to commune together in a place called Smithfield, where every Friday there is a market of horses; and there were together all of affinity more than twenty thousand, and yet there were many still in the town, drinking and making merry in the taverns, and paid

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nothing, for they were happy that made them best cheer.

And these people in Smithfield had with them the king's banners, the which were delivered them the day before, and all these gluttons were in mind to over-run and to rob London the same day, for their captains said how they had done nothing as yet. "These liberties that the king hath given us are to us but a small profit; therefore let us be all of one accord, and let us over-run this rich and puissant city before they of Essex, of Sussex, of Cambridge, of Bedford, of Arundel, of Warwick, of Reading, of Oxford, of Guildford, of Lynn, of Stafford, of Yarmouth, of Lincoln, of York and of Durham do come hither. For all these will come hither: Baker and Lister will bring them hither: and if we be first lords of London, and have the possession of the riches that are therein, we shall not repent us; for if we leave it, they that come after will have it from us."

To this counsel they all agreed; and therewith the king came the same way unaware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him a forty horse.

And when he came before the abbey of St. Bartholomew and beheld all these people, then the king stayed him and said how he would go no farther, till he knew what these people ailed, saying if they were in any trouble how he would reapease them again.

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The lords that were with him tarried also, as reason was when they saw the king tarry.

And when Wat Tyler saw the king tarry, he said to his people, "Sirs, yonder is the king; I will go and speak with him; stir not from hence without I make you a sign; and when I make you that sign, come `on and slay all them except the king: but do the king no hurt; he is young, we shall do with him as we list, and shall lead him with us all about England, and so shall we be lords of all the realm without doubt."

And there was a doublet-maker of London called John Tycle, and he had brought to these gluttons a sixty doublets, the which they wore: then he demanded of these captains who should pay him for his doublets; he demanded thirty mark. Wat Tyler answered him and said, "Friend, appease yourself, thou shalt be well paid before this day be ended: keep thee near me; I shall be thy surety."

And therewith he spurred his horse and came to the king, so near him that his horse's head touched the croup of the king's horse; and the first word that he said was this: "Sir king, seest thou all yonder people?"

"Yea, truly," said the king, "wherefore sayest thou?"

"Because," said he, "they be all at my commandment, and have sworn to me faith and truth, to do all that I will have them."

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"In a good time!" said the king, "I will well it be so."

Then Wat Tyler said, as he that nothing demanded but riot, "What, believest thou, King, that these people, and as many more as be in London at my commandment, that they will depart from thee thus without having thy letters?"

"No," said the king, "ye shall have them; they be ordained for you and shall be delivered every one, each after other. Wherefore, good fellows, withdraw fair and easily to your people and cause them to depart out of London; for it is our intent that each of you by villages and townships shall have letters patent, as I have promised you."

With those words Wat Tyler cast his eyes on a squire that was there with the king bearing the king's sword, and Wat Tyler hated greatly the same squire, for the same squire had displeased him before, for words between them.

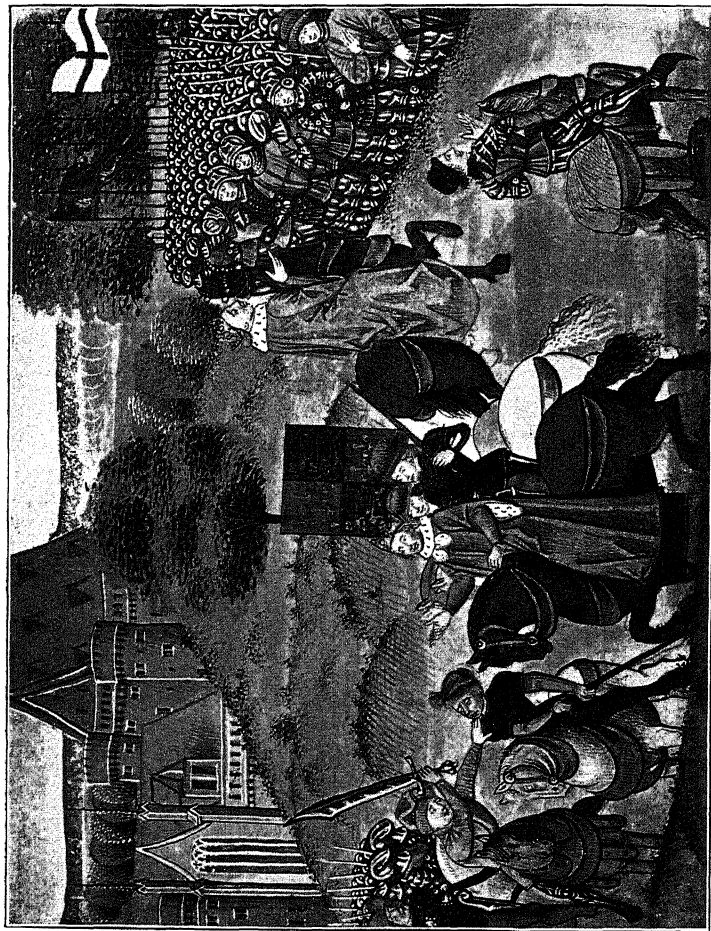
"What," said Tyler, "art thou there? Give me thy dagger."

"Nay," said the squire, "that will I not do; wherefore should I give it thee?"

The king beheld the squire and said, "Give it him, let him have it." And so the squire took it him sore against his will.

And when this Wat Tyler had it, he began to play therewith, and turned it in his hand, and said again to the squire, "Give me also that sword."

"Nay," said the squire, "it is the king's sword;



THE DEATH OF WAT TYLER

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thou art not worthy to have it, for thou art but a knave ; and if there were no more here but thou and I, thou durst not speak those words for as much gold in quantity as all yonder church of St. Paul."

"By my faith," said Wat Tyler, "I shall never eat meat till I have thy head": and with these words the Mayor of London came to the king with a twelve horses, well armed under their coats, and so he brake the press and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him, "Ha! thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the king's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee so to do."

Then the king began to chafe, and said to the mayor, "Set hands on him."

And while the king said so, Tyler said to the mayor, "A God's name, what have I said to displease thee?"

"Yes, truly," quoth the mayor, "thou false stinking knave; shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the king my natural lord? I wish never to live, without thou shalt dearly buy it."

And with those words the mayor drew out his sword and struck Tyler so great a stroke on the head, that he fell down at the feet of his horse, and as soon as he was fallen they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the king's alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and put it into Wat Tyler's belly, and so he died.

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Then the ungracious people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves and said, "Ah, our captain is slain, let us go and slay them all": and therewith they arranged themselves on the place in manner of battle, and their bows before them.

Then the king began a great act of daring, howbeit all turned to the best: for as soon as Wat Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company, and all alone he rode to these people, and said to his own men, "Sirs, none of you follow me; let me alone." And so when he came before those ungracious people, who put themselves in ordinance to revenge their captain, then the king said to them, "Sirs, what aileth you? Ye shall have no captain but me: I am your king: be all in rest and peace."

And so the most part of the people that heard the king speak and saw him among them, were shamefast, and began to wax peaceable and to depart: but some, such as were malicious and evil, would not depart, but made semblance as though they would do somewhat.

Then the king returned to his own company and demanded of them what was best to be done. Then he was counselled to draw into the field, for to fly away was no boot. Then said the mayor, "It is good that we do so, for I think surely we shall have shortly some comfort of them of London and of such good men as be of our part, who are purveyed

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and have their friends and men ready armed in their houses."

And in the mean time voice and bruit ran through London how these unhappy people were likely to slay the king and the mayor in Smithfield: through the which noise all manner of good men of the king's party issued out of their houses and lodgings well armed, and so came all to Smithfield to the field where the king was, and they were anon to the number of seven or eight thousand men well armed.

And first thither came Sir Robert Knolles and Sir Perducas d'Albret, well accompanied, and divers of the aldermen of London, and with them a six hundred men in harness, and a puissant man of the city, who was the king's draper, called Nicholas Bramber, and he brought with him a great company.

And ever as they came, they ranged them afoot in order of battle; and on the other part these unhappy people were ready ranged, making semblance to give battle, and they had with them divers of the king's banners. There the king made three knights, the one the Mayor of London, Sir William Walworth, Sir John Standish, and Sir Nicholas Bramber.

Then the lords said among themselves, "What shall we do? we see here our enemies, who would gladly slay us, if they might have the better hand of us." Sir Robert Knolles counselled to go and fight with them and slay them all: yet the king would not consent thereto, but said, "Nay, I will

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not so; I will send to them, commanding them to send me again my banners, and thereby we shall see what they will do; howbeit, either by fairness or otherwise, I will have them."

"That is well said, Sir," quoth the Earl of Salisbury.

Then these new knights were sent to them, and these knights made token to them not to shoot at them, and when they came so near them that their speech might be heard, they said, "Sirs, the king commandeth you to send him again his banners, and we think he will have mercy of you." And incontinent they delivered again the banners, and sent them to the king.

Also they were commanded, on pain of their heads, all such as had letters of the king, to bring them forth and to send them again to the king; and so many of them delivered their letters, but not all. Then the king made them to be all torn in pieces in their presence; and as soon as the king's banners were delivered again, these unhappy people kept none array, but the most part of them did cast down their bows, and so brake their array and returned into London.

Sir Robert Knolles was sore displeased, in that he might not go to slay them all: but the king would not consent thereto, but said he would be revenged on them well enough; and so he was after.

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*How these rebels were sent home to their own houses,
and how the King punished of these traitors the chief
masters.*

Thus these foolish people departed, some one way and some another: and the king and his lords and all his company right ordinately entered into London with great joy.

And the first journey that the king made he went to the lady princess his mother, who was in a castle in the Royal called the Queen's Wardrobe, and there she had tarried two days and two nights right sore abashed, as she had good reason. And when she saw the king her son, she was greatly rejoiced, and said, "Ah! fair son, what pain and great sorrow I have suffered for you this day!"

Then the king answered and said, "Certainly, madam, I know it well: but now rejoice yourself and thank God, for now it is time. I have this day recovered mine heritage and the realm of England, the which I had near lost." Thus the king tarried that day with his mother, and every lord went peaceably to their own lodgings.

Then there was a cry made in every street in the king's name, that all manner of men, not being of the city of London and having not dwelt there the space of one year, were to depart; and if any such, be found there on the Sunday by the sun rising, that they should be taken as traitors to the king,

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and lose their heads. This cry thus made, there was none that durst break it, and so all manner of people departed, and sparkled abroad every man to their own places.

John Ball and Jack Straw were found in an old house hidden, thinking to have stolen away; but they could not, for they were accused by their own men. Of the taking of them the king and his lords were glad, and then they struck off their heads and Wat Tyler's also, and they were set on London Bridge, and the valiant men's heads taken down that they had set on the Thursday before.

These tidings anon spread abroad, so that the people of the strange countries which were coming towards London returned back again to their own houses, and durst come no further. Now I shall show you the vengeance that the king took of these ungracious people.

When these people were reappeased, and that Baker was executed to death, and Lister at Stafford, and Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball and divers others at London, then the king was counselled to go visit his realm, through every shire, bailiwick, and village, to purge and punish all the said evil-doers, and to get again all such letters as by force he had given them in divers places, and so to bring again his realm in good order. Then the king sent secretly for a certain number of men of arms to come to him at a day appointed, and so they did

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to the number of a five hundred spears and as many archers.

And when they were all come as the king had devised, the king departed from London with his household men all only, and took the way into Kent, where first these ungracious people began to stir: and these foresaid men of war followed after the king and coasted him, but they rode not in his company.

The king entered into Kent, and came to a village called Ospringe, and called the mayor and all the men of the town before him. And when they were all come into a fair place, the king made to be shewed them by one of his council, how they had erred against the king, and how they had near turned all England to tribulation and to loss. And because that the king knew well that this business was begun by some of them and not by all, wherefore it were better that some did bear the blame than all, therefore he commanded them that they should shew who they were that were culpable, on pain to be for ever in the king's indignation and to be reputed as traitors against him.

And when they that were there assembled heard that request, and saw well that such as were culpable should excuse all the others, then they beheld each other and at last said, "Sir, behold him here, by whom this town was first moved." Incontinent he was taken and hanged, and so there were hanged to the number of seven; and the letters that the

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king had given them were demanded again, and so they were delivered again, and torn and broken before all the people.

And it was said to them all, "Sirs, ye that be here assembled, we command you in the king's name on pain of death every man to go home to his own house peaceably and never to grudge nor rise against the king nor none of his officers; and this trespass that ye have done, the king doth pardon you thereof."

Then they cried all with one voice, "God thank the king's grace, and all his council!"

In like manner as the king did at Ospringe, he did at Canterbury, at Sandwich, at Yarmouth, at Orwell, and in other places: in like wise he did in all other places of his realm, where any rebellion had been: and there were hanged and beheaded more than fifteen hundred.

VIII

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN

How the lords of Scotland assembled together in the city of Aberdeen and determined to raise up an army to enter into England; and of an English squire who was taken by the Scots and who knew the secrets of both realms, England and Scotland.

YE have heard here before how King Richard of England had some trouble; and there fell yet more thereafter, he against his uncles, and his uncles against him, with other divers incidents, and many knights in England dead and beheaded; and all this knew right well the Scots. Then the lords and knights of Scotland determined once again to raise up an army, and to make a journey into England: they said it was then good time and hour, for they saw the Englishmen were not all of one accord; and whereas oftentimes past they had received great buffets, then they said it was good time for them to be revenged.

And to the intent that their purpose should not be known, they ordained a feast to be holden on the frontier of the wild Scots, at a city called

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Aberdeen, where assembled, in a manner, all the lords of Scotland. At this feast they concluded and made full promise, that in the midst of August, the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and eight, they should all meet, with their puissance, on the frontiers of Cumberland, at a castle in the high forest called Jedworth.

Thus at that time they departed each from other; and of this covenant there was none of them that made their king privy thereto, for they said among themselves, their king was no man of war.

There came to Jedworth at the day appointed, first the Earl James Douglas, Sir John Earl of Moray, the Earl of March and Dunbar, Sir William Fife, and Sir Stephen, Earl of Menteith, Sir Archibald Douglas, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir John Gordon, Sir William Lindsay and Sir James his brother, the Lord Seton, Sir John Sandilands, Sir Patrick of Dunbar, Sir John Sinclair, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir John, son to the Lord Montgomery, Sir Simon Glendinning, Sir William Rutherford, Sir John Haliburton, Sir Alexander Lauder, Sir Robert Lundie, Sir Stephen Fraser, Sir Alexander Ramsay and Sir John his brother, Sir William Mowbray, Sir Robert Hart, Sir William of Waleran, Sir John Edmonstone and Davy his son, Robert Campbell, and divers other knights and squires of Scotland. In threescore year before there was not assembled together in Scotland such a number of good men; they were a twelve hundred spears and forty thou-

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sand men beside, with their archers: but in time of need the Scots trouble them but little for their bows; they rather bear axes, wherewith they give great strokes.

When they were thus met together in the marches of Jedworth, they were merry and said they would never enter again into their own houses till they had been in England, and done such deeds there that it should be spoken of twenty years after: and to the intent to make sure appointment, they assigned a day to meet at a church in a fair heath, called Yetholm.

Tidings came into Northumberland (as nothing can be hid if men put to their diligence to know), both to the Earl and to his children, to the Seneschal of York, and to Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, of this great feast that had been at Aberdeen; and to the intent to know wherefore it was, these lords sent to search covertly by heralds and minstrels. The Scots could not do their matters so secretly but the lords of England knew how men rose in Scotland, and how they should meet again at Jedworth. Bruit of this came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and when the lords knew of this every man took good heed to his charge, and provided themselves ready to assemble if need were.

And this they did secretly, so that their enterprise should not be broken: every man held himself in their own houses, and were determined to

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meet together as soon as they knew that the Scots came forward, and said, "If the Scots come forth we shall have knowledge thereof; if they draw toward Carlisle, we shall enter at another part into their country, and we shall do them more damage than they can do us, for their country is all open; we may go where we list: and our country is strong, and the towns and castles well closed."

And the better to know the state of the Scots they sent a gentleman of England, who knew right well the marches of Scotland, and specially the Forest of Jedworth, where the Scots should assemble: and the English squire went so forward that without being espied he came to the church of Yetholm, where the Scottish lords were, and he entered in among them like one of their servants: and there he heard and knew a great part of the intents of the Scots.

And at the end of their council the squire went to a tree where he had tied his horse, and thought to have found him there: but he was gone, for a Scot (who be great thieves) had stolen him away.

He durst not speak for him, but so went forth afoot, booted and spurred; and when he was gone from the church two bowshot, then there were two Scottish knights talked between themselves and said one to another, "Fellow, I have seen a marvel: behold yonder a man goeth alone, and, as I think, he hath lost his horse, for he came by and spoke no

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word : I ween he be none of our company ; let us ride after him to prove my saying."

They rode after him, and soon overtook him. When he saw them coming he would gladly have been thence : they came to him and demanded whither he would go and from whence he came, and what he had done with his horse.

He began to vary in his saying, and answered not directly to their purpose. They turned him, and said he should go and speak with their lords : they brought him again to the church of Yetholm, and presented him to the Earl Douglas and to other lords : they examined him and perceived well he was an Englishman : then they said they would know the truth why he came thither.

He was sore unwilling to shew the truth, but they handled him in such wise that he was fain to shew all the matter, for they bare him in hand : without he would shew the truth, incontinent he should lose his head ; and if he would shew the truth, he should have no evil. There they knew by him that the lords of Northumberland had sent him thither to know the state of their enterprise, and which way they would draw.

'Hereof the Scots were right joyous, and would not for a great sum but that they had spoken with this squire. Then they demanded again of him in what part the English lords were, and whether there were any appearance that they would assemble together, and what way they would take to enter

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into Scotland; either by the seaside by Berwick, or else by Dunbar, or else the high way by the country of Menteith toward Stirling.

The squire answered and said, "Sirs, it behoveth me to say the truth: I shall. When I departed from them from Newcastle, there was no appearance of their assembling; but they be on a readiness to depart as well to-day as to-morrow: and as soon as they know that ye set forward and enter into England, they will not come to meet with you, for they be not of the power so to do, nor to fight with you, since ye be so great a number as it is said in England that ye be."

"Why," quoth the Earl of Moray, "what number do they repute us at?"

"Sir," quoth he, "it is said how ye be a forty thousand men and twelve hundred spears: and, Sir, if ye take the way into Cumberland, they will go by Berwick and so to Dunbar, to Edinburgh, or else to Dalkeith; and if ye take not that way, then they will go by Carlisle, and into the mountains of the country."

When the lords heard that, each of them regarded other. Then the English squire was put to the keeping of the constable of Jedworth, and it was commanded that he should be surely kept: then in the same place they went again to council.

The lords of Scotland were right joyful that they knew surely the intent of their enemies: and then they demanded counsel what way was best for them

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to take. The most wisest and best expert in war spake first, and that was Sir Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Fife, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir John Sinclair, and Sir James Lindsay.

They said, "For fear of failing of our intent, we counsel that we make two armies, so that our enemies shall not know whereunto to attend; and let the most part of our host and carriage go by Carlisle in Cumberland, and let the other company (of a three or four hundred spears and two thousand of other, well horsed) draw towards Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and pass the river and enter into the bishopric of Durham, and burn and waste the country: we shall make a great broil in England before our enemies be provided: and if we see that they do follow us (as they will do), then let us draw all our companies together, and take a good place and fight with them: we doubt not but we shall have honour; then let us be revenged of the damages they have done to us."

This counsel was accepted, and it was ordained that Sir Archibald Douglas, the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Menteith, the Earl of Strathern, Sir Stephen Fraser, Sir Patrick Dunbar, and sixteen other great lords of Scotland, should lead the most part of the army towards Carlisle, and the Earl Douglas, Sir George Earl of March and of Dunbar, and the Earl John of Moray, these three to be captains of three hundred spears of chosen men, and of two thousand other men and

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archers, and they to go towards Newcastle and enter into Northumberland.

Thus these two hosts departed each from other, each of them praying other, if the Englishmen followed any of their armies, not to fight with them till both their armies were joined together. Thus in a morning they departed from Jedworth, and took the fields.

How the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy at the barriers before Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

When the English lords saw that their squire returned not again at the time appointed, and could know nothing of what the Scots did, nor what they were purposed to do, then they well thought that their squire was taken. The lords sent each to other to be ready whensoever they should hear that the Scots were abroad : as for their messenger, they thought him but lost.

Now let us speak of the Earl Douglas and others, for they had more to do than they that went by Carlisle. When the Earls of Douglas, of Moray, and of March and Dunbar, departed from the great host, they took their way thinking to pass the water and to enter into the bishopric of Durham and to ride to the town and then to return, burning and wasting the country, and so to come to Newcastle, and to lodge there in the town in the despite of all the Englishmen.

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And as they determined, so they did essay to put it in use, for they rode a great pace under cover, without doing any pillage by the way, or assaulting any castle, tower, or house; but so came into the Lord Percy's land, and passed the river of Tyne without any let, a three leagues above Newcastle, not far from Brancepeth, and at last entered into the bishopric of Durham, where they found a good country.

Then they began to make war, to slay people, and to burn villages, and to do many sore displeasures: as at that time the Earl of Northumberland and the other lords and knights of that country knew nothing of their coming.

When tidings came to Newcastle and to Durham that the Scots were abroad, and that they might well see by the fires and smoke abroad in the country, the Earl sent to Newcastle his two sons, and sent commandment to every man to draw to Newcastle, saying to his sons, "Ye shall go to Newcastle, and all the country shall assemble there, and I shall tarry at Alnwick, which is a passage that they must pass by: if we may enclose them we shall speed well."

Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother obeyed their father's commandment, and came thither with them of the country. The Scots rode burning and wasting the country, that the smoke thereof came to Newcastle: the Scots came to the gates of Durham, and skirmished there; but they tarried not

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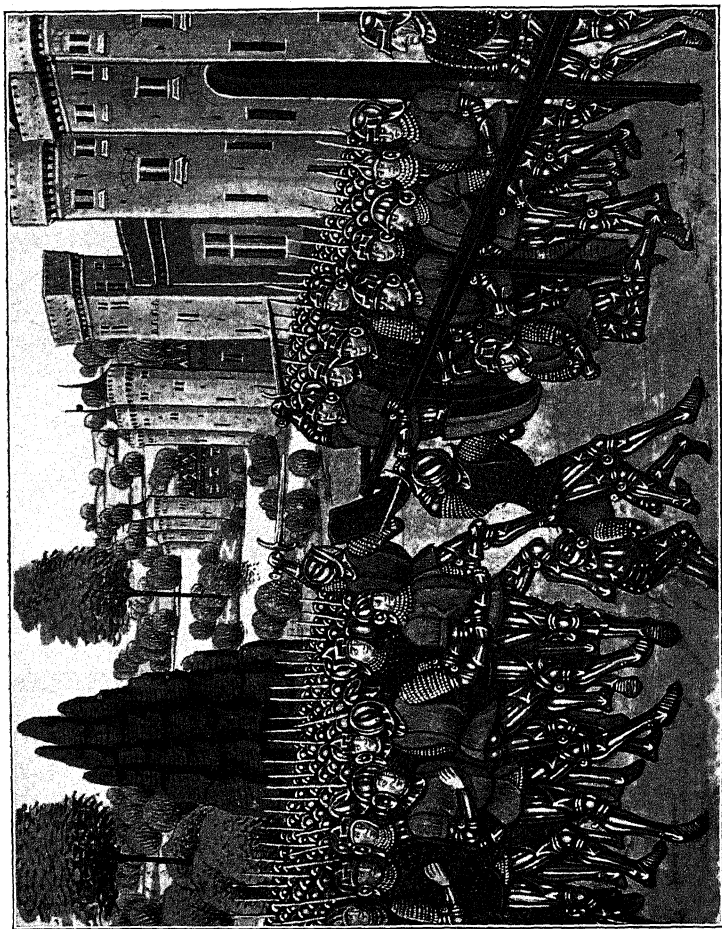
long, but returned as they had ordained before to do, and that they found by the way, they took and destroyed it.

Between Durham and Newcastle is but fourteen miles English, and a good country; there was no town, without it were closed, but it was burnt; and they repassed the river of Tyne where they had passed before, and then came before Newcastle and there rested.

All the English knights and squires of the country of York and bishopric of Durham were assembled at Newcastle, and thither came the Seneschal of York, Sir Ralph Lumley, Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Holton, Sir John Felton, Sir John Lilleburn, Sir Thomas Abingdon, the Baron of Helton, Sir John Copeland, and divers others, so that the town was so full of people that they wist not where to lodge.

When these three Scottish earls who were chief captains had made their enterprise in the bishopric of Durham, and had sore over-run the country, then they returned to Newcastle, and there rested and tarried two days, and every day they skirmished.

The Earl of Northumberland's two sons were two young lusty knights, and were ever foremost at the barriers to skirmish. There were many proper feats of arms done and achieved: there was fighting hand to hand; among others there fought hand to hand the Earl Douglas and Sir Henry Percy, and



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by force of arms the Earl Douglas won the pennon of Sir Henry Percy ; wherewith he was sore displeased, and so were all the Englishmen.

And the Earl Douglas said to Sir Henry Percy, "Sir, I shall bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and shall set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith, that it may be seen far off."

"Sir," quoth Sir Henry, "ye may be sure ye shall not pass the bounds of this country till ye be met withal in such wise that ye shall make no vaunt thereof."

"Well, Sir," quoth the Earl Douglas, "come this night to my lodging, and seek for your pennon: I shall set it before my lodging, and see if ye will come to take it away."

So then it was late, and the Scots withdrew to their lodgings, and refreshed them with such as they had; they had flesh enough. They made that night good watch, for they thought surely to be awaked for the words they had spoken, but they were not, for Sir Henry Percy was counselled not so to do.

How the Scots burnt the Castle of Pontland, and how Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother took advice to follow the Scots to conquer again the pennon that was lost at the skirmish.

The next day the Scots dislodged and returned towards their own country, and so came to a castle

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and a town called Pontland, whereof Sir Edmund of Alphil was lord, who was a right good knight. There the Scots rested, for they came thither betimes, and understood that the knight was in his castle.

Then they ordained to assail the castle, and gave a great assault, so that by force of arms they won it and the knight within it. Then the town and castle was burnt, and from thence the Scots went to the town and castle of Otterburn, a thirty English mile from Newcastle, and there lodged.

That day they made no assault, but the next morning they blew their horns and made ready to assail the castle, which was strong, for it stood in the marsh. That day they assaulted till they were weary, and did nothing. Then they sounded the retreat and returned to their lodgings.

Then the lords drew to council to determine what they should do. The most part were of the accord that the next day they should dislodge without giving any assault, and draw fair and easily toward Carlisle: but the Earl Douglas brake that counsel, and said in despite of Sir Henry Percy (who said he would come and win again his pennon), "Let us not depart hence for two or three days: let us assail this castle, it is pregnable; we shall have double honour; and then let us see if he will come and fetch his pennon; it shall be well defended."

Every man accorded to his saying, what for their honour and for the love of him: also they lodged

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there at their ease, for there was none that troubled them. They made many lodgings of boughs and great herbs, and fortified their camps sagely with the marsh that was thereby, and their carts were set at the entry into the marshes, and they had all their beasts within the marsh. Then they made ready for to assault the next day; this was their intention.

Now let us speak of Sir Henry Percy and of Sir Ralph his brother, and shew somewhat that they did. They were sore displeased that the Earl Douglas had won the pennon of their arms; also it touched greatly their honours if they did not as Sir Henry Percy said he would; for he had said to the Earl Douglas that he should not carry his pennon out of England, and also he had openly spoken it before all the knights and squires that were at Newcastle. The Englishmen there thought surely that the Earl Douglas' band was but the Scots' vanguard, and that their host was left behind.

The knights of the country, such as were well expert in arms, spoke against Sir Henry Percy's opinion, and said to him, "Sir, there fortuneth in war oftentimes many losses: if the Earl Douglas have won your pennon, he bought it dear, for he came to the gate to seek it, and was well beaten: another day ye shall win as much of him, or more.

"Sir, we say this because we know well all the power of Scotland is abroad in the fields, and if we

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issue out and be not men enough to fight with them—and peradventure they have made this skirmish with us to the intent to draw us out of the town, and the number that they be of, as it is said, is above forty thousand men,—they may soon enclose us, and do with us what they will: and moreover it were better to lose a pennon than two or three hundred knights and squires, and put all our country in adventure.”

These words refrained Sir Henry and his brother, for they would do nothing against counsel. Then tidings came to them by such as had seen the Scots, and seen all their demeanour, and what way they took and where they rested.

How Sir Henry Percy and his brother, with a good number of men of arms and archers, went after the Scots to win again his pennon, and how they assailed the Scots before Otterburn in their lodgings.

It was shewed to Sir Henry Percy and to his brother and to the other knights and squires that were there, by such as had followed the Scots from Newcastle and had well observed their doing: who said to Sir Henry and to Sir Ralph, “Sirs, we have followed the Scots privily, and have discovered all the country. The Scots be at Pontland, and have taken Sir Edmund Alphen in his own castle, and from thence they be gone to Otterburn, and there they lie this night. What they will do to-morrow

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we know not : they are ordained to abide there : and, Sirs, surely their great host is not with them, for in all they pass not there a three thousand men."

When Sir Henry heard that, he was joyful and said, "Sirs, let us leap on our horses, for by the faith I owe to God and to my lord my father, I will go seek for my pennon and dislodge them this same night."

Knights and squires that heard him agreed thereto and were joyous, and every man made him ready.

The same evening the Bishop of Durham came thither, with a good company, for he heard at Durham how the Scots were before Newcastle, and how that the Lord Percy's sons with other lords and knights should fight with the Scots : therefore the Bishop of Durham to come to the rescue had assembled up all the country, and so was coming to Newcastle.

But Sir Henry Percy would not abide his coming, for he had with him six hundred spears, knights and squires, and an eight thousand footmen. They thought that sufficient number to fight with the Scots, if they were not but three hundred spears and three thousand of others.

Thus they departed from Newcastle after dinner, and set forth in good order, and took the same way as the Scots had gone, and rode to Otterburn, a thirty little miles from thence and fair way, but they could not ride fast because of their foot-men.

And when the Scots had supped and some lain

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down to their rest, and were weary of travelling and assaulting the castle all that day, and thought to rise early in the morning in cool of the day to give a new assault, therewith suddenly the Englishmen came on them and entered into the lodgings, weening it had been the master's lodgings, and therein were but varlets and servants.

Then the Englishmen cried, "Percy! Percy!" and entered into the lodgings; and ye know well, where such affray is, noise is soon raised: and it fortunèd well for the Scots, for when they saw the Englishmen came to wake them, then the lords sent a certain of their servants, of foot-men, to skirmish with the Englishmen at the entry of the lodgings, and in the mean time they armed and apparelled them, every man under his banner and under his captain's pennon. The night was far on, but the moon shone so bright as if it had been in a manner day. It was in the month of August, and the weather fair and temperate.

Thus the Scots were drawn together and without any noise departed from their lodgings and went about a little mountain, which was greatly for their advantage. For all the day before they had well considered the place and said among themselves, "If the Englishmen come on us suddenly, then we will do thus and thus, for it is a jeopardous thing in the night if men of war enter into our lodgings. If they do, then we will draw to such a place, and thereby either we shall win or lose."

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When the Englishmen entered into the field, at the first they soon overcame the servants, and as they entered further in, always they found new men to busy them and to skirmish with them. Then suddenly came the Scots from about the mountain, and set on the Englishmen before they were ware, and cried their cries; whereof the Englishmen were sore astonished. Then they cried "Percy!" and the other party cried "Douglas!"

There began a cruel battle, and at the first encounter many were overthrown of both parties: and because the Englishmen were a great number and greatly desired to vanquish their enemies, they greatly did put aback the Scots and recoiled them, so that the Scots were near discomfited.

Then the Earl James Douglas, who was young and strong and of great desire to get praise and grace, and was willing to deserve to have it, and cared for no pain nor travail, came forth with his banner and cried "Douglas! Douglas!" and Sir Henry Percy and Sir Ralph his brother, who had great indignation against the Earl Douglas because he had won the pennon of their arms at the barriers before Newcastle, came to that part and cried "Percy!" Their two banners met and their men: there was a sore fight: the Englishmen were so strong and fought so valiantly that they recoiled the Scots back.

There were two valiant knights of Scots under the banner of the Earl Douglas, called Sir Patrick

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Hepburn and Sir Patrick his son. They acquitted themselves that day valiantly; the Earl's banner had been won if they had not been: they defended it so valiantly, and in the rescuing thereof did such feats of arms, that it was greatly to their recommendation and to their heirs' for ever after.

It was shewed me by such as had been at the same battle, as well by knights and squires of England as of Scotland, at the house of the Earl of Foix,—for anon after this battle was done I met at Orthès two squires of England called John of Châteauneuf and John of Cantiron; also when I returned to Avignon I found also there a knight and a squire of Scotland; I knew them and they knew me by such tokens as I shewed them of their country, for I, author of this book, in my youth had ridden nigh all over the realm of Scotland, and I was then a fifteen days in the house of Earl William Douglas, father to the same Earl James, of whom I spake now, in a castle which is called in the country Dalkeith, a five leagues from Edinburgh; the same time I saw there this Earl James, a fair young child, and a sister of his called the Lady Isabella;—and I was informed by these on both sides how this battle was as sore fought a battle as hath been lightly heard of before, of such a number; and I believe it well, for Englishmen on the one party and Scots on the other party are good men of war, for when they meet there is a hard fight without sparing; there is no “hold!” between them as long

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as spears, swords, axes, or daggers will endure, but they lay on each upon other, and when they have well fought and the one party hath obtained the victory, they then glorify so in their deeds of arms and are so joyful, that such as be taken shall be ransomed before they go out of the field, so that shortly each of them is so content with other that at their departing courteously they will say, "God thank you." But in fighting one with another there is no play nor sparing, and this is true; and that shall well appear by this said encounter; for it was as valiantly foughten as could be devised, as ye shall hear.

How the Earl James Douglas by his valiantness encouraged his men, who were recoiled and in a manner discomfited, and in his so doing he was wounded to death.

Knights and squires were of good courage on both parties to fight valiantly: cowards there had no place, but hardiness reigned with goodly feats of arms; for knights and squires were so joined together at hand-strokes, that archers had no place on either party. There the Scots shewed great hardiness and fought merrily with great desire of honour; the Englishmen were three to one: howbeit, I say not but Englishmen did nobly acquit themselves, for ever the Englishmen had rather been slain or taken in the place than fly.

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Thus, as I have said, the banners of Douglas and Percy, and their men, were met each against other, envious who should win the honour of that day's work.

At the beginning the Englishmen were so strong that they recoiled back their enemies: then the Earl Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, seeing his men recoil back, then to recover the place and to shew knightly valour he took his axe in both his hands and entered so into the press, that he made himself way in such wise, that none durst approach near him, and none was so well armed that he feared him not for the great strokes that he gave.

Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field and to discomfit his enemies: but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once—the one struck him on the shoulder, another on the breast and the stroke glinted down to his belly, and the third struck him in the thigh,—and sore hurt with all three strokes, so that he was borne perforce to the earth, and after that he could not be again raised up. Some of his knights and squires followed him, but not all, for it was night, and no light but by the shining of the moon.

The Englishmen knew well they had borne one down to the earth, but they wist not who it was; for if they had known that it had been the Earl Douglas, they had been thereof so joyful and so proud that the victory had been theirs. Nor also

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the Scots knew not of that adventure, till the end of the battle: for if they had known it, they should have been so sore despaired and discouraged that they would have fled away,

Thus as the Earl Douglas was felled to the earth, he was stricken into the head with an axe, and another stroke through the thigh; the Englishmen passed forth and took no heed of him; they thought none otherwise but they had slain a man of arms.

On the other part the Earl George of March and of Dunbar fought right valiantly and gave the Englishmen much ado, and cried, "Follow Douglas, and set on the sons of Percy!" also Earl John of Moray with his banner and men fought valiantly and set fiercely on the Englishmen, and gave them so much to do that they wist not to whom to attend.

How in this battle Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt and taken prisoner by a Scottish knight.

Of all the battles and encounterings that I have made mention of herebefore in all this history, great or small, this battle that I treat of now was one of the sorest and best foughten without cowardice or faint hearts. For there was neither knight nor squire but did his devoir and fought hand to hand: this battle was like the battle of Becherel, the which was valiantly fought and endured.

The Earl of Northumberland's sons, Sir Henry

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and Sir Ralph Percy, who were chief sovereign captains, acquitted themselves nobly; and Sir Ralph Percy entered in so far among his enemies that he was closed in and hurt, and so sore handled that his breath was so short, that he was taken prisoner by a knight of the Earl of Moray's called Sir John Maxwell.

In the taking the Scottish knight demanded what he was, for it was in the night, so that he knew him not, and Sir Ralph was so sore overcome and bled fast, that at last he said, "I am Ralph Percy."

Then the Scot said, "Sir Ralph, rescue or no rescue, I take you for my prisoner: I am Maxwell."

"Well," quoth Sir Ralph, "I am content; but then take heed to me, for I am sore hurt; my hose and greaves are full of blood."

Then the knight saw by him the Earl Moray, and said, "Sir, here I deliver to you Sir Ralph Percy as prisoner; but, Sir, let good heed be taken to him, for he is sore hurt."

The Earl was joyful of these words, and said, "Maxwell, thou hast well won thy spurs." Then he delivered Sir Ralph Percy to certain of his men, and they stopped and wrapped his wounds: and still the battle endured, none knowing who had as then the better, for there were many taken and rescued again that came not to knowledge.

Now let us speak of the young James, Earl of

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Douglas, who did marvels in arms before he was beaten down.

When he was overthrown, the press was great about him, so that he could not lift himself up, for with an axe he had his death's wound. His men followed him as near as they could, and there came to him Sir James Lindsay his cousin, and Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, and other knights and squires.

And by him was a gentle knight of his, who followed him all the day, and a chaplain of his, not like a priest but like a valiant man of arms, for all that night he followed the Earl with a good axe in his hands, and still skirmished about the Earl there as he lay, and recoiled back some of the Englishmen with great strokes that he gave.

Thus he was found fighting near to his master, whereby he had great praise, and thereby the same year he was made Archdeacon of Aberdeen. This priest was called Sir William of North Berwick: he was a tall man and a hardy, and was sore hurt.

When these knights came to the Earl, they found him in an evil case, and a knight of his lying by him called Sir Robert Hart: he had a fifteen wounds in one place and other. Then Sir John Sinclair demanded of the Earl how he did.

"Right ill, cousin," quoth the Earl, "but, thanked be God, there hath been but a few of

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mine ancestors that hath died in their beds: but, cousin, I require you, think to revenge me, for I reckon myself but dead, for my heart fainteth oftentimes. My cousin Walter and you, I pray you raise up again my banner which lieth on the ground, and my squire Davie Coningham slain: but, Sirs, shew neither to friend nor foe what case ye see me in; for if mine enemies knew it, they would rejoice and our friends be comforted."

The two brethren Sinclair and Sir James Lindsay did as the Earl had desired them, and raised up again his banner and cried "Douglas!"

Such as were behind and heard that cry drew together and set on their enemies valiantly, and recoiled back the Englishmen with many overthrown, and so drove the Englishmen back beyond the place where the Earl lay, who was by that time dead; and so came to the Earl's banner, the which Sir John Sinclair held in his hands, and many good knights and squires of Scotland about him; and still company drew to the cry of "Douglas!"

Thither came the Earl Moray with his banner well accompanied, and also the Earl of March and of Dunbar, and when they saw the Englishmen recoil and their company assembled together, they renewed again the battle and gave many hard and sad strokes.

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How the Scots won the battle against the Englishmen beside Otterburn, and there were taken prisoners Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, and how an English squire would not yield him, no more would a Scottish squire, and so died both; and how the Bishop of Durham and his company were discomfited among themselves.

To say truth, the Englishmen were sorer travailed than the Scots, for they came the same day from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a thirty English miles, and went a great pace to the intent to find the Scots, which they did; so that by their fast going they were near out of breath, and the Scots were fresh and well rested, which greatly availed them when time was of their business: for in the last skirmish they recoiled back the Englishmen in such wise, that after that they could no more assemble together, for the Scots passed through their battalions.

And it fortun'd that Sir Henry Percy and the Lord of Montgomery, a valiant knight of Scotland, fought together hand to hand right valiantly without hindrance of any other, for every man had enough to do. So long they two fought that by force of arms Sir Henry Percy was taken prisoner by the said Lord of Montgomery.

The knights and squires of Scotland, as Sir Malcolm Drummond, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir William, Sir James and Sir Alexander Lindsay, the Lord

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Fenton, Sir John Sandilands, Sir Patrick of Dunbar, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, Sir John Maxwell, Sir Guy Stuart, Sir John Haliburton, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Robert Coningham and his two sons John and Robert, who were there made knights, and a hundred knights and squires that I cannot name, all these right valiantly did acquit themselves.

And on the English party, before that the Lord Percy was taken and after, there fought valiantly Sir Ralph Lumley, Sir Matthew Redman, Sir Thomas Ogle, Sir Thomas Grey, Sir Thomas Helton, Sir Thomas Abingdon, Sir John Lilleburn, Sir William Walsingham, the Baron of Helton, Sir John Cope-land, the Seneschal of York, and divers others, footmen.

Whereto should I write long process? This was a sore battle and well foughten; and as fortune is always changeable, though the Englishmen were more in number than the Scots and were right valiant men of war and well expert, and at the first front they recoiled back the Scots, yet finally the Scots obtained the place and victory, and all the foresaid Englishmen were taken, and a hundred more, saving Sir Matthew Redman, captain of Berwick, who when he knew no remedy nor recoverance, and saw his company fly from the Scots and yield them on every side, then he took his horse and departed to save himself.

The same season, about the end of this discomfiture, there was an English squire called Thomas

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Waltham, a goodly and a valiant man, and that was well seen, for all that night he would neither fly nor yet yield him. It was said he had made a vow at a feast in England, that the first time that ever he saw Englishmen and Scots in battle, he would so do his devoir to his power, in such wise that either he would be reputed for the best doer on both sides, or else die in the endeavour. He was called a valiant and a hardy man, and did so much by his prowess, that under the banner of the Earl of Moray, he did such valiantness in arms, that the Scots had marvel thereof; and so was slain in fighting: the Scots would gladly have taken him alive, but he would never yield; he hoped ever to have been rescued. And with him there was a Scottish squire slain, cousin to the king of Scots, called Simon Glendinning: his death was greatly lamented of the Scots.

This battle was fierce and cruel till it came to the end of the discomfiture; but when the Scots saw the Englishmen recoil and yield themselves, then the Scots were courteous and set them to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner, "Sirs, go and unarm you and take your ease; I am your master:" and so made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage.

The chase endured a five English miles, and if the Scots had been men enough, there had none escaped, but either they had been taken or slain. And if

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Archibald Douglas and the Earl of Fife, the Earl of Sutherland, and others of the great company who were gone towards Carlisle, had been there, by all likelihood they had taken the Bishop of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I shall shew you how.

The same evening that the Percies departed from Newcastle, as ye have heard before, the Bishop of Durham, with the rear-band, came to Newcastle and supped : and as he sat at the table, he had imagination in himself how he did not acquit himself well to see the Englishmen in the field and he to be within the town.

Incontinent he caused the table to be taken away, and commanded to saddle his horses and to sound the trumpets, and called up men in the town to arm themselves and to mount on their horses, and foot-men to order themselves to depart. And thus every man departed out of the town to the number of seven thousand, two thousand on horseback and five thousand afoot ; they took their way toward Otterburn, where the battle had been.

And by the time they had gone two leagues from Newcastle tidings came to them how their men were fighting with the Scots. Therewith the Bishop rested there, and incontinent came more, flying fast so that they were out of breath.

Then they were demanded how the matter went. " Right evil : we be all discomfited : here come the

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Scots, chasing us." These tidings troubled the Englishmen, and they began to doubt.

And again the third time men came flying as fast as they might. When the men of the bishopric of Durham heard of these evil tidings, they were abashed in such wise that they brake their array, so that the Bishop could not hold together the number of five hundred. It was thought if the Scots had followed them in any number, seeing that it was night, that in the entering into the town, and the Englishmen so abashed, the town had been won.

The Bishop of Durham, being in the field, had good will to have succoured the Englishmen and recomforted his men as much as he could; but he saw his own men fly as well as others. Then he demanded counsel of Sir William Lucy and of Sir Thomas Clifford and of other knights, what was best to do.

These knights for their honour would give him no counsel; for they thought that to return again and do nothing should sound greatly to their blame, and to go forward might be to their great damage; and so they stood still and would give no answer; and the longer they stood the fewer they were, for some still stole away.

Then the Bishop said, "Sirs, all things considered, it is no honour to put all in peril, nor to make of one evil damage twain. We hear how our company be discomfited, and we cannot remedy it: for to go to recover them, we know not with whom nor with

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what number we shall meet. Let us return fair and easily for this night to Newcastle, and to-morrow let us draw together and go look on our enemies."

Every man answered, "As God will: so be it." Therewith they returned to Newcastle.

Thus a man may consider the great default that is in men that be abashed and discomfited: for if they had kept them together and had turned again such as fled, they had discomfited the Scots. This was the opinion of divers; and because they did not thus, the Scots had the victory.

How Sir Matthew Redman departed from the battle to save himself; and how Sir James Lindsay was taken prisoner by the Bishop of Durham; and how after the battle scouts were sent forth to discover the country.

I shall shew you of Sir Matthew Redman, who was on horseback to save himself, for he alone could not remedy the matter.

At his departing Sir James Lindsay was near to him and saw how Sir Matthew departed, and this Sir James, to win honour, followed in chase Sir Matthew Redman, and came so near him that he might have stricken him with his spear, if he had listed.

Then he said, "Ah! Sir knight, turn; it is a shame thus to fly; I am James Lindsay: if ye will

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not turn I shall strike you on the back with my spear."

Sir Matthew spake no word, but struck his horse with the spurs sorer than he did before.

In this manner he chased him more than three miles, and at last Sir Matthew Redman's horse foundered and fell under him. Then he stepped forth on the earth and drew out his sword, and took courage to defend himself; and the Scot thought to have stricken him on the breast, but Sir Matthew Redman swerved from the stroke and the spear point entered into the earth.

Then Sir Matthew struck asunder the spear with his sword; and when Sir James Lindsay saw how he had lost his spear, he cast away the truncheon and lighted afoot, and took a little battle-axe that he carried at his back, and handled it with his one hand quickly and deliverly, in the which feat Scots be well expert, and then he set at Sir Matthew, and he defended himself properly. Thus they tourneyed together, one with an axe and the other with a sword, a long season, and no man to hinder them.

Finally Sir James Lindsay gave the knight such strokes, and held him so short, that he was put out of breath in such wise that he yielded himself, and said, "Sir James Lindsay, I yield me to you."

"Well," quoth he, "and I receive you, rescue or no rescue."

"I am content," quoth Redman, "so ye deal with me like a good companion."

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"I shall not fail that," quoth Lindsay, and so put up his axe.

"Well, sir," quoth Redman, "what will you now that I shall do? I am your prisoner; ye have conquered me. I would gladly go again to Newcastle, and within fifteen days I shall come to you into Scotland, where ye shall assign me."

"I am content," quoth Lindsay, "ye shall promise by your faith to present yourself within these three weeks at Edinburgh, and wheresoever ye go, to repute yourself my prisoner."

All this Sir Matthew sware and promised to fulfil. Then each of them took their horses, and took leave each of other. Sir James returned, and his intent was to go to his own company the same way that he came, and Sir Matthew Redman to Newcastle.

Sir James Lindsay could not keep the right way as he came: it was dark and a mist, and he had not ridden half a mile but he met face to face with the Bishop of Durham and more than five hundred Englishmen with him. He might well have escaped if he had willed, but he supposed it had been his own company, that had pursued the Englishmen. When he was among them, one demanded of him what he was.

"I am," quoth he, "Sir James Lindsay."

The Bishop heard those words, and stepped to him and said, "Lindsay, ye are taken: yield ye to me!"

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"Who be you?" quoth Lindsay.

"I am," quoth he, "the Bishop of Durham."

"And from whence come you, Sir?" quoth Lindsay.

"I come from the battle," quoth the Bishop, "but I struck never a stroke there: I go back to Newcastle for this night, and ye shall go with me."

"I may not choose," quoth Lindsay, "since ye will have it so. I have taken and I am taken: such are the adventures of arms."

"Whom have ye taken?" quoth the Bishop.

"Sir," quoth he, "I took in the chase Sir Matthew Redman."

"And where is he?" quoth the Bishop.

"By my faith, Sir, he is returned to Newcastle: he desired me to trust him on his faith for three weeks, and so have I done."

"Well," quoth the Bishop, "let us go to Newcastle, and there ye shall speak with him."

Thus they rode to Newcastle together, and Sir James Lindsay was prisoner to the Bishop of Durham.

Under the banner of the Earl of March and of Dunbar was taken a squire of Gascony, called John de Châteauneuf, and under the banner of the Earl of Moray was taken his companion John de Cantiron.

Thus the field was clean voided before the day appeared. The Scots drew together and took guides and sent out scouts to see if any men were in the

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way from Newcastle, to the intent that they should not be troubled in their lodgings; wherein they did wisely, for when the Bishop of Durham was come again to Newcastle and in his lodging, he was sore pensive, and wist not what to say nor do; for he heard say how his cousins the Percies were slain or taken, and all the knights that were with them.

Then he sent for all the knights and squires that were in the town; and when they were come he demanded of them if they should leave the matter in that case, and said, "Sirs, we shall bear great blame, if we thus return without looking on our enemies."

Then they concluded by the sun-rising every man to be armed, and on horseback and afoot to depart out of the town and to go to Otterburn to fight with the Scots. This was warned through the town by a trumpet, and every man armed them and assembled before the bridge, and by the sun-rising they departed by the gate towards Berwick, and took the way towards Otterburn to the number of ten thousand, what afoot and a-horseback.

They were not gone past two mile from Newcastle, when the Scots were signified that the Bishop of Durham was coming to themward to fight; this they knew by their spies, such as they had set in the fields.

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*How Sir Matthew Redman and Sir James Lindsay
dined together in Newcastle, and of the number of
those taken and slain in the battle.*

After that Sir Matthew Redman was returned to Newcastle and had shewed to divers how he had been taken prisoner by Sir James Lindsay, then it was shewed him how the Bishop of Durham had taken the said Sir James Lindsay, and how that he was there in the town as his prisoner.

As soon as the Bishop was departed, Sir Matthew Redman went to the Bishop's lodging to see his master, and there he found him in a study of thought, lying in a window, and said, "What, Sir James Lindsay, what make you here?"

Then Sir James left his study and came forth to him and gave him good morrow, and said, "By my faith, Sir Matthew, fortune hath brought me hither; for as soon as I was departed from you, I met by chance the Bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, as ye be to me. I believe ye shall not need to come to Edinburgh to me to make your finance: I think rather we shall make an exchange one for another, if the Bishop be so content."

"Well, Sir," quoth Redman, "we shall accord right well together; ye shall dine this day with me: the Bishop and our men be gone forth to fight with your men; I cannot tell what shall fall, we shall know at their return."

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"I am content to dine with you," quoth Lindsay. Thus these two knights dined together in Newcastle.

When the knights of Scotland were informed how the Bishop of Durham came on them with ten thousand men, they drew to council to see what was best for them to do, either to depart or else to abide the adventure. All things considered, they concluded to abide, for they said they could not be in a better nor a stronger place than they were in already: they had many prisoners, and they could not carry them away, if they should have departed; and also they had many of their men hurt, and also some of their prisoners, whom they thought they would not leave behind them.

Thus they drew together and ordered so their field, that there was no entry but one way, and they set all their prisoners together, and made them to promise how that, rescue or no rescue, they should be their prisoners. After that they made all their minstrels to blow up all at once, and made the greatest revel of the world.

Lightly it is the usage of Scots, that when they be thus assembled together in arms, the foot-men bear about their necks horns in manner like hunters, some great, some small, and of all sorts, so that when they blow all at once, they make such a noise that it may be heard nigh four miles off: thus they do to abash their enemies and to rejoice themselves.

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When the Bishop of Durham with his banner and ten thousand men with him were approached within a league, then the Scots blew their horns in such wise, that it seemed that all the devils in hell had been among them; so that such as heard them and knew not of their usage, were sore abashed.

This blowing and noise endured a long space and then ceased: and by that time the Englishmen were within less than a mile. Then the Scots began to blow again, and made a great noise, the which as long endured as it did before.

Then the Bishop approached with his battalion well ranged in good order, and came within the sight of the Scots, within two bow-shot or less: then the Scots blew again their horns a long space. The Bishop stood still to see what the Scots would do, and viewed them well and saw how they were in a strong ground, greatly to their advantage.

Then the Bishop took counsel what was best for him to do; but all things well considered, they were not in purpose to enter in among the Scots to assail them, but returned without doing anything, for they saw well they might rather lose than win.

When the Scots saw the Englishmen recoil and that they should have no battle, they went to their lodgings and made merry, and then ordained to depart from thence.

And because that Sir Ralph Percy was sore hurt, he desired of his master that he might return to Newcastle, or into some place, wherever it pleased

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him, unto such time as he were whole of his hurts, promising, as soon as he were able to ride, to return into Scotland, either to Edinburgh or into any other place appointed.

The Earl of March, under whom he was taken, agreed thereto, and delivered him a horse-litter and sent him away; and by like covenant divers other knights and squires were suffered to return home, and took term either to return or else to pay their finance, such as they were appointed unto.

It was shewed me by the information of the Scots, such as had been at this said battle that was between Newcastle and Otterburn in the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and eight, the nineteenth day of August, how that there were taken prisoners of the English party a thousand and forty men, one and other, and slain in the field and in the chase eighteen hundred and forty, and sore hurt more than a thousand: and of the Scots there were a hundred slain, and taken in the chase more than two hundred: for as the Englishmen fled, when they saw any advantage, they returned again and fought; by that means the Scots were taken and none otherwise. Every man may well consider that it was a well-fought field, when there were so many slain and taken on both parties.

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How the Scots departed and carried with them the Earl Douglas dead, and buried him in the abbey of Melrose; and how Sir Archibald Douglas and his company departed from before Carlisle and returned into Scotland.

After this battle thus finished and every man was returned and the Earl Douglas' dead body chested and laid in a carriage, and with him Sir Robert Hart and Simon Glendinning, then they prepared to depart: so they departed and led with them Sir Henry Percy and more than forty knights of England, and took the way to the abbey of Melrose. At their departing they set fire in their lodgings, and rode all the day, and yet lay that night in the English ground: none denied them.

The next day they dislodged early in the morning, and so came that day to Melrose. It is an abbey of black monks on the border between both realms.

There they rested, and buried the Earl James Douglas. The second day after, his obsequy was done reverently, and on his body was laid a tomb of stone and his banner hanging over him.

Whether there were then any more Earls of Douglas, to whom the land returned, or not, I cannot tell; for I, Sir John Froissart, author of this book, was in Scotland in the Earl's castle of Dalkeith, living Earl William, at which time he had

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two children, a son and a daughter: but afterward there were many of the Douglasses, for I have seen a five brethren, all squires, bearing the name of Douglas, in the king of Scotland's house, David; they were sons to a knight in Scotland called Sir James Douglas, and they bare in their arms, gold, three cushions gules, but as for the heritage, I know not who had it: as for Sir Archibald Douglas, of whom I have spoken before in this history, who was a valiant knight, and greatly redoubted of the Englishmen, he was but a bastard.

When these Scots had been at Melrose Abbey and done there all that they came thither for, then they departed each from other, and went into their own countries; and such as had prisoners, some led them away with them, and some were ransomed and suffered to return. Thus the Englishmen found the Scots right courteous and gentle in their deliverance and ransom, so that they were well content.

This was shewed me in the country of Béarn in the Earl of Foix's house by a knight named John de Châteauneuf, who was taken prisoner at the same day's work under the banner of the Earl of March and Dunbar: and he greatly praised the said Earl, for he suffered him to pass in manner as he desired himself. Thus these men of war of Scotland departed, and ransomed their prisoners as soon as they might right courteously, and so returned by little and little into their own country.

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And it was shewed me, and I believe it well, that the Scots had by reason of that day's work two hundred thousand francs for ransoming of prisoners : for since the battle that was before Stirling in Scotland, where Sir Robert Bruce, Sir James Douglas, Sir Robert Erskine, Sir Simon Fraser, and other Scots chased the Englishmen three days, they never had day's work so profitable nor so honourable for them, as this was.

When tidings came to the other company of the Scots that were beside Carlisle, how their company had distressed the Englishmen beside Otterburn, they were greatly rejoiced, and displeased in their minds that they had not been there. Then they determined to dislodge and to draw into their own country, seeing their other company were withdrawn. Thus they dislodged and entered into Scotland.

IX

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S RETURN TO ENGLAND

*How Sir John Froissart arrived in England, and how
Sir William Lisle shewed him the manner of the
Purgatory of St. Patrick.*

TRUE it was that I, Sir John Froissart, at that time Treasurer and Canon of Chimay in the Earldom of Hainault, in the diocese of Liège, had great affection to go and see the realm of England, when I had been in Abbeville and saw that truce was taken between the realms of England and France and other countries to them conjoined, and their adherents, to endure four years by sea and by land.

Many reasons moved me to make that voyage: one was because in my youth I had been brought up in the court of the noble King Edward the Third and of Queen Philippa his wife, and among their children and other barons of England that then were alive; in whom I found all nobleness, honour, largesse and courtesy. Therefore I desired to see the country, thinking thereby I should live much the longer; for I had not been there in twenty-seven year be-

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fore, and I thought, though I saw not those lords that I left alive there, yet at the least I should see their heirs, the which should do me much good to see, and also to justify the histories and matters that I had written of them.

And before I took my journey, I spake with Duke Aubert of Bavaria, Earl of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and Lord of Friesland, and with my Lord William, Earl of Ostrevant, and with my right honourable lady, Jane, Duchess of Brabant and of Luxembourg, and with the Lord Enguerrand Lord de Coucy, and with the gentle knight the Lord de Gommegnies, who in his youth and mine had been together with me in England in the king's court: in like wise so had I seen there the Lord de Coucy and divers others nobles of France, when they lay in London in hostage for the redemption of King John, then French king.

Those said lords and the Duchess of Brabant counselled me to take this journey, and gave me letters of recommendation to the king of England and to his uncles; saving the Lord de Coucy, he would not write to the king, because he was a Frenchman, therefore he durst not, but he wrote to his daughter, who then was called Duchess of Ireland.

And I had engrossed in a fair book well illuminated, all the matters of love and moralities that in four and twenty years before I had made and compiled, which greatly quickened my desire to go

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into England to see King Richard, who was son to the noble Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine; for I had not seen this King Richard since he was christened in the cathedral church of Bordeaux, at which time I was there, and thought to have gone with the prince the journey into Galicia in Spain, and when we were in the city of Dax the prince sent me back into England to the queen his mother.

For these causes and others I had great desire to go into England to see the king and his uncles. Also I had this said fair book, well covered with velvet garnished with clasps of silver and gilt, thereof to make a present to the king at my first coming to his presence.

I had such desire to go this voyage, that the pain and travail grieved me nothing. Thus provided of horses and other necessities, I passed the sea at Calais, and came to Dover the twelfth day of the month of July.

When I came there, I found no man of my knowledge, it was so long since I had been in England, and the houses were all newly changed, and young children were become men and women who knew me not, nor I them.

So I abode half a day and all a night at Dover: it was on a Tuesday, and the next day by nine of the clock I came to Canterbury, to St. Thomas' shrine and to the tomb of the noble Prince of Wales, who is there interred right richly.

There I heard Mass and made mine offering to

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the holy saint, and then dined at my lodging, and there I was informed how King Richard should be there the next day on pilgrimage, which was after his return out of Ireland, where he had been the space of nine months or thereabout. The king had a devotion to visit St. Thomas' shrine, and also because the prince his father was there buried.

Then I thought to abide the king there, and so I did; and the next day the king came thither with a noble company of lords, ladies and damosels: and when I was among them, they seemed to me all new folks, I knew no person; the time was sore changed in twenty-eight year, and with the king then was none of his uncles. The Duke of Lancaster was in Aquitaine, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester were in other businesses, so that I was at the first all abashed, for if I had seen any ancient knight that had been with King Edward or with the prince, I had been well recomforted and would have gone to him; but I could see none such.

Then I demanded for a knight called Sir Richard Stury, whether he were alive or not; and it was shewed me, yes, but he was at London.

Then I thought to go to the Lord Thomas Percy, Great Seneschal of England, who was there with the king; so I acquainted me with him, and I found him right honourable and gracious, and he offered to present me and my letters to the king, whereof I was right joyful, for it behoved me to have some means to bring me to the presence of such a prince

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as the king of England was. He went to the king's chamber, at which time the king was gone to sleep, and so he shewed me, and bade me return to my lodging and come again, and so I did.

And when I came to the Archbishop's Palace, I found the Lord Thomas Percy ready to ride to Ospringe, and he counselled me to make then no knowledge of my being there, but to follow the court, and said he would cause me ever to be well lodged till the king should be at the fair castle of Leeds in Kent.

I ordered me after his counsel and rode before to Ospringe, and by adventure I was lodged in a house where was lodged a gentle knight of England called Sir William Lisle. He had tarried there behind the king because he had pain in his head all the night before: he was one of the king's Privy Chamber, and when he saw that I was a stranger, and, as he thought, of the marches of France, because of my language, we fell in acquaintance together, for gentlemen of England are courteous, treatable, and glad of acquaintance.

Then he demanded what I was, and what business I had to do in those parts: I shewed him a great part of my coming thither, and all that the Lord Thomas Percy had said to me, and ordered me to do.

He then answered and said how I could not have a better mean, and that on the Friday the king should be at the castle of Leeds; and he shewed me

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that when I came there, I should find there the Duke of York, the king's uncle, whereof I was right glad, because I had letters directed to him, and also that in his youth he had seen me in the court of the noble King Edward his father, and with the queen his mother.

Then on the Friday in the morning Sir William Lisle and I rode together, and on the way I demanded of him if he had been with the king in the voyage into Ireland.

He answered me, "Yes."

Then I demanded of him the manner of the hole that is in Ireland, called St. Patrick's Purgatory, and if it were true that was said of it or not.

Then he said that of a surety such a hole there was, and that he himself and another knight of England had been there, while the king lay at Dublin; and he said how they entered into the hole and were closed in at the sun going down, and abode there all night, and the next morning issued out at the sun-rising.

Then I demanded if he had any such strange sights or visions as were spoken of.

Then he said how that when he and his fellow were entered and past the gate that was called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and that they were descended and gone down three or four paces, descending down as into a cellar, a certain hot vapour rose against them and struck so into their heads that they were fain to sit down on the stairs, which are

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of stone. And after they had sat there a season, they had great desire to sleep, and so fell asleep and slept there all night.

Then I demanded if in their sleep they knew where they were ; or what visions they had.

He answered me that in sleeping they entered into great imaginations, and marvellous dreams, otherwise than they were wont to have in their chambers ; and in the morning they issued out, and within a short season clean forgot their dreams and visions ; wherefore he said he thought all that matter was but a fantasy.

Then I left speaking any further of that matter, because I would fain have known of him what was done in the voyage in Ireland ; and I thought then to have demanded what the king had done in that journey ; but then company of other knights came and fell in communication with him, so that I left my purpose for that time.

How Sir John Froissart rode forth in the king's company, and of the gift of a book that he gave to the king.

Thus we rode to Leeds, and thither came the king and all his company, and there I found the Lord Edmund, Duke of York. Then I went to him and delivered my letters from the Earl of Hainault his cousin and from the Earl of Ostrevant.

The Duke knew me well and made me good cheer.

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and said, "Sir John, hold you always near to us, and we shall shew you love and courtesy: we are bound thereto for the love of time past, and for love of my lady the old queen my mother, in whose court ye were, we have good remembrance thereof."

Then I thanked him, as reason required: so I was advanced by reason of him and Sir Thomas Percy and Sir William Lisle; by their means I was brought into the king's chamber, and into his presence by means of his uncle the Duke of York.

Then I delivered my letters to the king, and he took and read them at good leisure. Then he said to me that I was welcome, as he that had been and is of the English court.

On that day I shewed not the king the book that I had brought for him: he was so sore occupied with great affairs, that I had then no leisure to present my book. The king was sore busied there in council for two great and mighty matters: first was in determining to send sufficient messengers, as the Earl of Rutland his cousin-german, and the Earl Marshal, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Louis Clifford, the Lord Henry Beaumont, the Lord Hugh Spencer, and many others, over the sea to Charles the French king, to treat with him for a marriage to be had between the king of England and the French king's eldest daughter named Isabel, of the age of eight years.

The second cause was, the Lord de la Barthe, the Lord de Terride, the Lord de Puycornet, the Lord

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de Castelnau, the Lord de Lesque, the Lord de Copane, and the councillors of Bordeaux, Bayonne, and of Dax, were come into England and had quickly pursued their matter since the king's return out of Ireland, to have an answer of the requests and process that they had put forth to the king on the gift that the king had given to his uncle the Duke of Lancaster, of the lands, seignories, lordships and baronies in Aquitaine, which pertained to the king and realm of England. They had alleged to the king and his council that his gift might not pass so, because it was unprofitable : for they said all those lands were held of the immediate jurisdiction and demesne of the crown of England ; wherefore they said they would not disjoin nor dissever them from the crown.

They alleged furthermore many other reasonable causes ; and thus to have counsel of those two great matters, the king had sent for the most part of the prelates and lords of England to be at the feast of Maudlin-tide at a manor of the king's called Eltham, a seven English miles from London.

And when they had tarried at Leeds a four days, the king returned to Rochester and so to Eltham ; and so I rode forth in the king's company.

And in riding the way between Leeds and Eltham, I demanded of Sir William Lisle and of Sir John de Grailly the cause why the king drew to London-



FROISSART RIDING WITH SIR JOHN DE GRAILLY

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ward, and why that great council should assemble at Eltham: they told me, and specially Sir John de Grailly rehearsed it to me plainly.

This knight was captain of Bouteville, and bastard son sometime to the Captal de Buch; and I heard his words gladly, and did put them in memory; and all the way between Leeds and Eltham I rode most part in his company and with Sir William Lisle.

Thus the king came to Eltham on a Tuesday, and on the Wednesday the lords from all sides began to assemble. Thither came the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Kent, Rutland, and the Earl Marshal, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London and Winchester.

And on the Thursday about the hour of three they assembled together in the king's chamber in the king's presence. Then the knights of Gascony were sent for, and the councillors of the good towns, and also the Duke of Lancaster's counsel was sent for. I was not present, nor might not be suffered: there were none but the lords of the council, who debated the matter more than four hours.

And after dinner I fell in acquaintance with an ancient knight whom I knew in King Edward's days, and he was then of King Richard's Privy Council; he was called Sir Richard Stury. He knew me anon, and yet he had not seen me in

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twenty-four years before, which was at Codenberg in Brussels, in the house of Duke Wenceslas of Brabant and of the Duchess Jane of Brabant.

This knight Sir Richard Stury made me good cheer and demanded of me many things, and I answered him as I knew; and as I walked up and down with him in a gallery before the king's chamber, I demanded him questions of that council, and desired him to tell me, if he might, what conclusion was taken.

He heard me well, and paused a little, and afterwards said, "Sir John, I shall shew you, for it is no matter to be hidden and kept secret; for shortly ye shall hear them published all openly."

So this valiant knight Sir Richard Stury shewed me everything, walking in the galleries at Eltham, where it was right pleasant and shady, for those galleries were then covered with vines.

And so it was that on the Sunday following, all such as had been there were departed, and all these councillors, except the Duke of York, who abode still about the king, and Sir Richard Stury; and these two with Sir Thomas Percy shewed my business to the king.

Then the king desired to see my book that I had brought for him; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready on his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair illumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and



FROISSART PRESENTING HIS BOOK TO KING RICHARD

Froissart's Return to England

roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought.

Then the king demanded me whereof it treated, and I shewed him how it treated matters of love; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it and read in many places, for he could speak and read French very well. And he caused it to be taken by a knight of his chamber, named Sir Richard Credon, to bear it into his secret chamber.

And the same Sunday I fell in acquaintance with a squire of England called Henry Christead, an honest man and a wise, and could well speak French. He companied with me because he saw the king and other lords make me good cheer, and also he had seen the book that I gave to the king; also Sir Richard Stury had shewed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth.

The rehearsal of the voyage that King Richard had made in Ireland, and how he brought into his obeisance four kings of that country.

“Sir John,” quoth he, “have ye not found in the king’s court since ye came hither no man that hath told you of the voyage that the king made but late into Ireland, and in what manner the four kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the king of England?”

And I answered, “No.”

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“Then shall I shew you,” quoth the squire, “to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country, and have leisure thereto.”

I was rejoiced of his words and thanked him: then he began thus and said: “Sir John, it is not in memory that either any king of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men of arms nor archers. The king was nine months in the marches of Ireland, to his great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses; and the merchants, cities, and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the king return home again with honour. The number that he had thither, gentlemen and archers, were four thousand knights and thirty thousand archers, well paid weekly, that every man was well pleased.

“But I shew you, because ye should know the truth, Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and widely with high forests and great waters, and marshes and places uninhabitable: it is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor ye shall find no town nor person to speak withal; for the men draw to the woods and dwell in caves and small cottages under trees, and among bushes and hedges, like wild savage beasts, and when they know that any man maketh war against them and is entered into

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their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend them, so that no man can enter into them, and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country and are light people: for a man of arms may be never so well horsed and run as fast as he can, the Irishman will run afoot as fast as he and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him and draw him from his horse: for they are strong men in the arms, and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges after the manner of dart-heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy; and they repute not a man dead till they have cut his throat, and taken out his heart and carried it away with them. Some say, such as know their nature, that they do eat it and have great delight therein. They take no man to ransom, and when they see at any encounter that they be overmatched, then they will depart asunder and go and hide themselves in bushes, woods, hedges, and caves, so that no man shall find them.

“Also Sir William Windsor, who hath most used the wars in those parts of any other Englishman, yet he could never learn the manner of the country, nor know their conditions. They be hard people and of rude engine and wit, and of divers frequentations and usage: they set nothing by jollity or fresh apparel, nor by nobleness; for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kings, whereof

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they have plenty, yet they will take no knowledge of gentleness, but will continue in their rudeness, according as they are brought up.

“Truth it is, that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country, are come to the obeisance of the king of England by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint. The Earl of Ormond, who bordereth upon them, hath taken great pain and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the king, and submitted them to him, to be under the obeisance of the crown of England; wherefore the king and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed, and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for King Edward of good memory did never so much upon them as King Richard did in this voyage: the honour is great, but the profit is but little, for though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages.

“I shall shew you somewhat of their rudeness, to the intent it may be ensample against people of other nations. I know it well, for I have proved it by these kings themselves: for when they were at Dublin I had the governance of them about a month by the king's commandment and his council, to the intent that I should learn them to use themselves according to the usage of England, and because I could speak their language as well as French or English, for in my youth I was brought up among them.

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"I was with the Earl of Ormond, father to the Earl that now is, who loved me right well, because I could then ride and handle a horse meetly well; and it fortunéd one time that the said Earl, who was then my master, was sent with three hundred spears and a thousand archers into the marches of Ireland to make war with the Irishmen, for always the Englishmen have had war with them, to subdue and put them under.

"And on a day, as the said Earl went against them, I rode on a goodly horse of his, light and swift; thus I rode and followed my master, and the same day the Irishmen were laid in an ambush, and when we came near them they opened their ambush: then the English archers began to shoot so eagerly that the Irishmen could not suffer it, for they are but simply armed, therefore they recoiled and went back.

"Then the Earl my master followed in the chase, and I that was well horsed followed him as near as I could; and it fortunéd so that my horse was affrayed and took his bridle in his teeth and ran away with me, and whether I would or not he bare me so far forth among the Irishmen, that one of them by lightness of running leapt up behind me and embraced me in his arms, and did me none other hurt, but so led me out of the way, and so rode still behind me the space of two hours, and at the last brought me into a secret place, thick of bushes, and there he found his company, who were come thither

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and scaped all dangers, for the Englishmen pursued not so far. Then, as he shewed me, he had great joy of me, and led me into a town and a strong house among the woods, waters and mires.

“The town was called Elphin, and the gentleman that took me was called Brien Costerec; he was a goodly man, and, as it hath been shewed me, he is as yet alive; howbeit he is very aged. This Brien Costerec kept me seven year with him, and gave me his daughter in marriage, of whom I had two daughters. I shall shew you how I was delivered.

“It happened, at the seven years’ end, one of their kings, named Arthur MacMorrough, king of Leinster, made an army against Duke Lionel of Clarence, son to King Edward of England, and against Sir William Windsor; and not far from the city of Leinster the Englishmen and Irishmen met together, and many were slain and taken on both parties, but the Englishmen obtained the victory and the Irishmen fled, and the King Arthur saved himself: but Brien Costerec, my wife’s father, was taken prisoner under the Duke of Clarence’s banner. He was taken on the same courser that he took me on, the horse was well known among the Earl of Ormond’s folk; and then he shewed how I was alive and was at his manor of Elphin, and how I had wedded his daughter; whereof the Duke of Clarence, Sir William Windsor, and the Englishmen were right glad.

“Then it was shewed him that if he would be

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delivered out of prison, he should deliver me into the Englishmen's hands, and my wife and children.

"With great pain he made that bargain, for he loved me well, and my wife his daughter and our children; when he saw he could make his finance none otherwise, he accorded thereto, but he retained mine eldest daughter still with him. So I and my wife and our second daughter returned into England, and so I went and dwelt beside Bristol on the river of Severn. My two daughters are married, and she in Ireland hath three sons and two daughters, and she that I brought with me hath four sons and two daughters.

"And because the language of Irish is as ready to me as the English tongue, for I have always continued with my wife, and taught my children the same speech, therefore the king my sovereign lord and his council commanded me to give attendance on these four kings, and to govern and bring them to reason and to the usage and customs of England, seeing they had yielded them to be under his obedience and of the crown of England, and they were sworn to hold it for ever.

"And yet I ensure you, for all that I did my power to learn them good manner, yet for all that they be right rude and of gross wit. Much pain I had to make them to speak any thing in fair manner: somewhat I altered them, but not much; for in many cases they drew to their natural rudeness. The king my sovereign lord's intent was

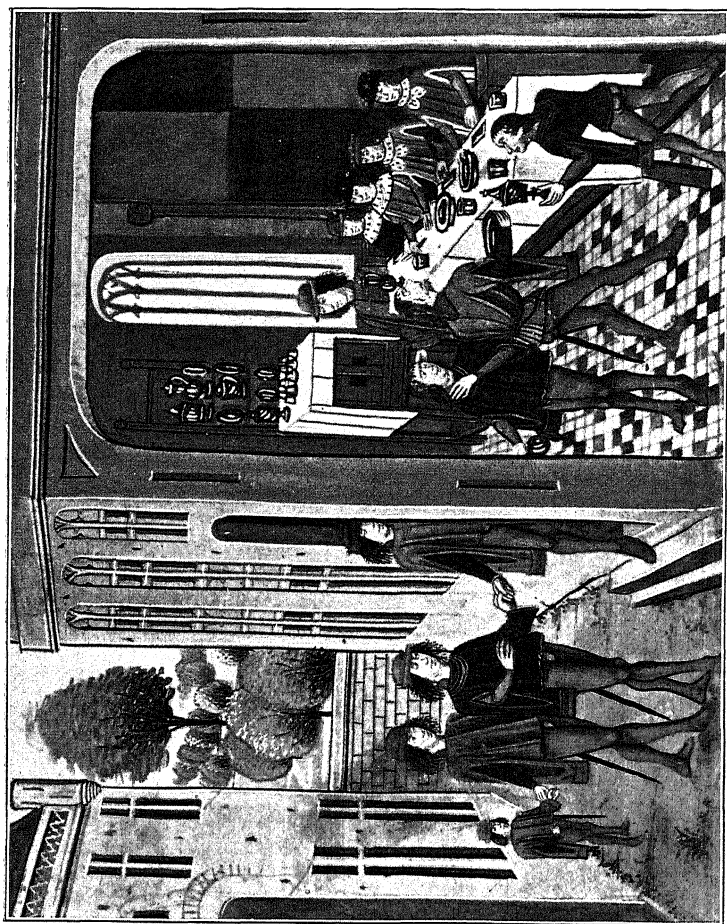
Froissart in Britain

that in manner, countenance, and apparel of clothing they should use according to the manner of England, for the king thought to make them all four knights.

“They had a fair house to lodge in in Dublin, and I was charged to abide still with them, and not to depart; and so two or three days I suffered them to do as they listed, and said nothing to them, but they followed their own appetites: they would sit at the table and make countenance neither good nor fair; then I thought I should cause them to change that manner. They would cause their minstrels, their servants and varlets, to sit with them, and to eat in their own dish and to drink of their cups, and they shewed me that the usage of their country was good, for they said in all things (except their beds) they were and lived as common.

“So the fourth day I ordained other tables to be covered in the hall after the usage of England, and I made these four kings to sit at the high table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them; whereof by seeming they were displeased, and beheld each other and would not eat, and said how I would take from them their good usage wherein they had been nourished.

“Then I answered them, smiling to appease them, that it was not honourable for their estate to do as they did before, and that they must leave it and use the custom of England, and that it was the king’s



THE FOUR IRISH KINGS AT TABLE

Froissart's Return to England

pleasure they should so do, and how I was charged so to order them.

“When they heard that they suffered it, because they had put themselves under the obeisance of the king of England, and persevered in the same as long as I was with them. Yet they had one use, which I knew well was used in their country, and that was, they did wear no breeches. I caused breeches of linen cloth to be made for them.

“While I was with them I caused them to leave many rude things, as well in clothing as in other causes. Much ado I had at the first to cause them to wear gowns of silk furred with minnever and gray; for before, these kings thought themselves well apparelled when they had on a mantle. They rode always without saddles and stirrups, and with great pain I made them to ride after our usage.

“And on a time I demanded them of their belief; wherewith they were not content, and said how they believed on God and on the Trinity, as well as we.

“Then I demanded on what pope was their affection.

“They answered me, on him of Rome.

“Then I demanded if they would not gladly receive the order of knighthood, and that the king of England should make them knights according to the usage of France and England and other countries.

“They answered how they were knights already and that sufficed for them.

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"I asked where they were made knights, and how, and when.

"They answered that in the age of seven year they were made knights in Ireland, and that a king maketh his son a knight, and if the son have no father alive, then the next of his blood may make him knight; and then this young knight shall begin to joust with small spears, such as they may bear with their ease, and run against a shield set on a stake in the field, and the more spears he breaketh, the more he shall be honoured.

"I knew their manner well enough, though I did demand it. But then I said that the knighthood that they had taken in their youth sufficed not to the king of England, but I said he should give them after another manner.

"They demanded how.

"I answered that it should be in the holy church, which was the most worthiest place. Then they inclined somewhat to my words.

"Within two days after, the Earl of Ormond came to them, who could right well speak the language, for some of his lands lay in those parts: he was sent to them by the king and his council. They all honoured him, and he them: then he fell in sweet communication with them, and he demanded of them how they liked me.

"They answered and said, 'Well; for he hath well shewed us the usage of this country; wherefore we ought to thank him and so we do.'

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"This answer pleased well the Earl of Ormond. Then he entered little and little to speak of the order of chivalry, which the king would they should receive: he shewed it them from point to point, how they should behave themselves, and what pertained to knighthood.

"The Earl's words pleased much these four kings, whose names were these: first, the great O'Neal, king of Meath; the second, O'Brien of Thomond, king of Thomond; the third, Arthur MacMorrough, king of Leinster; the fourth, O'Connor, king of Connaught and Erne: they were made knights by King Richard of England in the cathedral church of Dublin, dedicate of St. John Baptist: it was done on our Lady Day in March; it fell on a Thursday.

"These four kings watched all the night before in the church, and the next day at high Mass time with great solemnity they were made knights, and with them Sir Thomas Ourghem, Sir Jonathan Pado, and Sir John Pado his cousin.

"These kings sat that day at the table with King Richard: they were regarded of many folks, because their behaving was strange to the manner of England and other countries, and ever naturally men desire to see novelties."

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Of the puissance of kings, and how best they may subdue their countries.

Then I, Sir John Froissart, said : “ Henry, I believe you well, and I would it had cost me largely that I had been there ; and surely this year past I had come thither, if it had not been that I heard of the death of Queen Anne of England, which did hinder me.

“ But one thing I would desire of you to know, how these four kings of Ireland came so soon to the king of England’s obeisance, when King Edward, the king’s grandfather, who was so valiant a prince and so redoubted over all, could never subdue them nor put them under, and yet he had always war with them ; and in that they are subdued now, ye said it was by treaty and by the grace of God. Indeed the grace of God is good ; whoso can have it, it is much worth : but it is seen nowadays that earthly princes get little without it be by puissance.

“ I desire to know this, for when I shall come into Hainault, of which country I am, I shall be examined of this and many other things, both by Duke Aubert of Bavaria, Earl of Hainault, of Holland and of Zealand, and also by his son William of Bavaria, who writeth himself Lord of Friesland, which is a great country and a puissant, which country the said duke and his son claim to have by right succession, and so did their predecessors

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before them, but the Frisians would never fall to any reason nor come under obeisance, nor as yet do not, unto this day."

Then answered Henry Christead and said, "Sir John, to shew you the very truth I cannot, but many a one saith, and it is to suppose, that the great puissance that the king had over with him, and tarried there in their country nine months, and every man well paid, abashed the Irishmen: also the sea was closed from them on all parts, whereby their victuals and merchandise might not enter into their countries, though they that dwell far within the realm cared but little for it, for they know not what merchandise meaneth, for they live but grossly and rudely like unto beasts, yet such as live on the marches of England and by the sea coast use feat of merchandise with us and into other places. King Edward of noble memory in his time had to answer so many wars, what in France, Brittany, Gascony, and Scotland, that his people were divided in divers places and sore occupied, wherefore he could not send no great number into Ireland. But when the Irishmen saw the great number of men of war that King Richard had in Ireland this last journey, the Irishmen advised themselves and came to obeisance.

"And indeed of old time there was a king in England named Edward, who is a saint and canonised, and honoured through all this realm; in his time he subdued the Danes and discomfited them by

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battle on the sea three times; and this St. Edward, king of England, Lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, the Irishmen loved and dreaded much more than any other king of England that had been before: and therefore our sovereign lord King Richard this year past, when he was in Ireland, in all his ceremonies and devices he left bearing of the arms of England, the libbards and flower-de-luces quarterly, and bare the arms of this St. Edward, that is, gules, a cross potent gold and four white martinets in the field: whereof it was said the Irishmen were well pleased, and the sooner they inclined to him: for of truth the predecessors of these four kings obeyed with faith and homage the said King Edward, and they repute King Richard a good man and of good conscience, and so they have done to him faith and homage, as they ought to do, and in like manner as their predecessors some time did to St. Edward.

“Thus I have shewed you the manner how the king our sovereign lord hath this year accomplished and furnished his voyage in Ireland. Put it in your memorial, to the intent that when ye shall return into your own country, ye may write it in your chronicle with many other histories that belong to the same matter.”

Then I thanked him, and said it should be done: so I took leave of him.

Then I met with March, the herald, and I demanded of him what arms this Henry Christead bare, and I shewed the herald how this Henry had

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shewed me the manner of the king's journey in Ireland, and the state of the four kings, who had been, as he said, in his governing more than fifteen days at Dublin.

The herald answered me and said, "Sir, he beareth in his arms, silver, a chevron gules between three torteaux." All these things I did put in writing, because I would not forget them.

Thus I tarried in the king of England's court as long as it pleased me, not always in one place, for the king oftentimes removed to Eltham, to Leeds, to Kingston, to Sheen, to Chertsey, or to Windsor, about the marches of London.

And I was informed of a truth that the king wrote to his uncle the Duke of Lancaster, for they of Aquitaine sped so in their business, that the Duke was written to and summoned. Then it was concluded by general council of England that the gift that the king had given to the Duke of Lancaster must needs abide still as the king's own. Howbeit the Duke of Gloucester would that his brother might have enjoyed the king's gift; but his saying could not be heard in that case, for they of the realm of England (because of doubts and casuistries in time to come) heard well the words of them of Bordeaux and of Bayonne, and considered well that if the heritage of Aquitaine were put from the crown of England, it should be in time to come a great prejudice to the realm, which they would in no wise should fortune: for always Bor-

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deaux and Bayonne, and the frontiers and marches of Gascony, had kept and augmented greatly the honour of the realm of England.

These things were well considered of the wise men of the king's council, the Duke of Gloucester absent, for before him no man durst speak. So the matter abode in this case.

X

THE KING'S YOUNGEST UNCLE

Of the conclusion of the marriage taken at Paris between the King of England and Isabel, eldest daughter to the French king: and how the Duke of Lancaster remarried.

IN the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and sixteen the king of England's ambassadors, the Earl of Rutland and the Earl Marshal, and others, were sent into France to treat of the marriage between King Richard their lord and the daughter of Charles, French king, who was but eight years of age: and they were with the French king at Paris a twenty-two days, and they had as good cheer as could be devised, and their matters took such effect, that it was agreed that the king of England should have in marriage Isabel, the eldest daughter of King Charles: and by virtue of procuracion the Earl Marshal affianced and espoused her in the name of the king of England, and so she was called from thenceforth queen of England.

And as I was informed, it was a goodly sight to

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see her behaviour; for all that she was but young, right pleasantly she bare the port of a queen.

Then, all this matter concluded, the Englishmen took their leave of the French king, and of the queen, and of their daughter, queen of England, and of all other lords, and so departed from Paris and returned to Calais, and so into England.

The king and others of his opinion were glad of their return. But whosoever was glad of that marriage, the Duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king, made no joy thereof, for he saw well that by reason of that marriage and alliance, peace should be between the kings and their realms; which grieved him, without it should be greatly to the honour of the king and the realm of England, and that the Englishmen might be in the same case as they were, or better, in the parts of Gascony, or the wars renewed again.

And of this matter he would oftentimes speak with his brother the Duke of York, and drew him as much as he could to his opinions, for he was but a soft prince, but to the Duke of Lancaster, his eldest brother, he durst not speak over largely, for he saw well he was of the king's opinion, and was well pleased with the king's marriage, principally for the love of his two daughters the queen of Spain and the queen of Portugal.

The same season the Duke of Lancaster remarried again, the third time, to a lady, daughter to a knight in Hainault called Sir Payn Roet: he had been in



GLOUCESTER PLOTTING AGAINST THE KING

The King's Youngest Uncle

his time with the noble Queen Philippa of England, who was of the nation of Hainault: his daughter was called Katherine, and was brought up in her youth in the Duke of Lancaster's house with the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster, and after the death of this Lady Blanche, the Duke married the Lady Constance of Spain, and in her days the Duke kept this Lady Katherine Roet to his concubine and had by her four children, three sons and a daughter; and for the love he had to his children, he wedded their mother; whereof there was much marvel both in England and in France, for she was but of a base lineage, in regard to the other two wives.

And when the knowledge of the marriage of the Duke to this Lady Katherine Roet was come to the great ladies of England, as the Duchess of Gloucester, the Countess of Derby, the Countess of Arundel and other ladies, descended of the blood royal of England, they marvelled much, and laid great blame to the Duke for that deed, and said how the Duke of Lancaster was greatly to dispraise to marry her; for by reason thereof she should be the second person in honour in England, whereby they said the queen should be shamefully accompanied, and said how surely they would not come into no place where she should be present; and moreover they said it should be a great shame for them that such a Duchess should go and have the preëminence before them; they said their hearts

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should break for sorrow : both the Duke of Gloucester and the Duchess his wife spake of this matter, and said how they would never do her honour nor call her sister.

The Duke of York passed it over lightly enough, for he was ever lightly resident about the king and with the Duke of Lancaster. The Duke of Gloucester was of another manner, for though he were youngest brother, he set by no man ; he was orgulous and presumptuous of manner, and thereto he inclined his nature, and always against the king's opinions and his councillors.

Thus this Lady Katherine Roet was Duchess of Lancaster, and was as the second person of England, and was much about the king, as she that knew much honour, for in her youth and all her days she had been brought up therein : and the Duke loved greatly the children that he had by her, and that he shewed well in his life and after his death.

How the Duke of Gloucester subtly sought out the means how to destroy King Richard of England his nephew.

The same summer the king of Hungary and the lords of France passed the river of Danube and entered into Turkey, and besieged the town of Nicopolis : but finally the king of Hungary lost the field by reason of the pride of the Frenchmen, who making little account of the Turks, had broken his commandment and counsel given them by his

The King's Youngest Uncle

Marshal, and tarried not for him, but would needs set on.

Thus by them and by their pride all was lost, and they received such damage that since the battle of Roncesvalles, where the twelve peers of France were slain, Christendom received not so great a damage: for all the lords and knights of France that were there were destroyed or taken prisoners.

And when these news spread abroad in France and in other places, many were right sorrowful, and not without good cause: but the Duke of Gloucester, because his heart could never love the Frenchmen, therefore of the loss that the Frenchmen had in Turkey he was rather glad than sorry.

The same season he had a knight with him called Sir John Lackingay, chief of his counsel, as it was known after: he said to his lord, "Sir, the fumes and pride of the Frenchmen are well abated by reason of their journey into Hungary and Turkey; they be so full of pride and brag that they can come to no good conclusion of any enterprise that they take in hand."

"That is true," quoth the Duke, "and that appeared right well during the war in the days of the king my father, and of my brother the Prince of Wales, for then they could never attain to any victory against the Englishmen; wherefore I cannot tell why we should have truce with them, for if the war were open, by reason of our good title we should now make them better war than

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ever was made before; for now all the flower of chivalry of France is either taken or slain.

“And the men of England desire to have war rather than peace, for they can better live in war than peace, for in lying still there is no advantage: and I swear by God if I may live two year in good health the war shall be renewed; I will neither spare for truce, respite, nor assurance, for in time past the Frenchmen have kept no promise with us, but have falsely and craftily taken away the heritage of the Duchy of Aquitaine, which was given and delivered by agreement of good treaty of peace to the king my father; which oftentimes I have shewed to the council of France, when we met and communed together in the frontier of the marches of Calais; but always they flourished their intents with so sweet words, that mine opinion was not regarded nor believed, neither by the king my nephew, nor by my brethren: but if there were a good head king of England, that desired the war as well as I do, and would put-to his pains to recover his heritage, which craftily and falsely hath been taken from him without any good title of reason, he should find in England a hundred thousand archers, and six thousand men of arms ready apparelled to serve him and to pass the sea, and to put their goods and lives in adventure in his service.

“But it is not so; there is no such king in England now that loveth any deeds of arms; if

The King's Youngest Uncle

there were, he would shew himself in France: there was never so good time to make war in France as now, for whosoever goeth now shall be fought withal, which is all the desire that Englishmen have in trust of winning, as they had in time past in the days of good King Edward my father, and in my brother's days, the Prince of Wales.

"I am the youngest of all the brethren of England, but if I may be listened to I shall be the first that shall renew the war, and trust to recover the wrongs that the Frenchmen have done to us and daily do, and all by the simple slothfulness that is among us, and specially our head, the king my nephew, who will now ally himself by marriage to the French king's daughter: this is no token that he will make war; his eyes be too heavy, he careth for nothing but for meat and drink and rest, and dallying with ladies and damosels; this is no life for men of war that will deserve to have honour by prowess of deeds of arms.

"I remember me yet of the last journey that I made into France; I think I had in my company but two thousand spears and eight thousand archers, and so passed the sea and entered into the realm of France from Calais, and so went along into the realm and found none to withstand me nor none that durst fight with me. In like wise so did Sir Robert Knolles, and Sir Hugh Calverley, and Thomas Grandison, and Sir Philip Giffard: and yet they had not the number that I had with me,

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and yet they were before Paris, and demanded battle of the French king; but they could never be answered, nor found any person that said anything to them; and so they rode into Brittany, and so along through the realm of France, from Calais to Bordeaux, without having any battle or encounter. But I think surely whoso would now make any such journey, they should be fought withal, for he that calleth himself king in France is young, hot, and of great courage and enterprise; he would surely fight, what end soever fell thereof, and that is the thing we desire, for we love nothing so well as to have battle, for without it be by battle and victory upon the Frenchmen (who be rich), we shall have else no recovery, but suffer with the loss as we have done ever since my nephew was king of England.

“This thing cannot long endure in this estate, but at last the realm of England shall perceive the matter and repent it, for the king taketh, and shall take and raise, great taxes of the merchants, wherewith they be not content, and yet they cannot tell where the money goeth: thus the king empovereth the realm of England, and giveth to one and another largely, and there it is but evil bestowed, and his people buyeth the bargain; which shortly will grow to a rebellion within the realm, for the people begin to clatter and to murmur thereat, saying how they will no longer suffer nor bear it. He sayeth, to stop the people’s rumour, that, the truce

The King's Youngest Uncle

once concluded between him and France, then he will make a voyage into Ireland, and employ there his men of arms and archers; and there he hath been, with but a small conquest, for Ireland is no land of great conquest nor profit; the people there are but rude and evil, and a right poor country and uninhabitable; and look, what is won there in one year is lost in another. Lackingay, Lackin-gay," quoth the Duke, "all that I have said is of truth."

Thus the Duke of Gloucester spoke with his knight with such words and other, as it was well known after. He hated the king, and could speak no good word of him; and though he were with his brother the Duke of Lancaster, as one of the greatest rulers of the realm, he took no care thereof; and when the king did send for him he would come at his pleasure, and sometimes not a whit; and when he came to the king, he would be the last should come, and the first that would depart; and in council what he had once said of his opinion, he would have it taken and accepted, else he would be displeased, and sometimes take his leave and depart to his manor in Essex, called Pleshy; there was his chief abiding.

This Duke was a great prince, and might well spend by year a threescore thousand ducats: he was Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Essex and of Buckingham, and Constable of England; he was of so marvellous conditions, that the king feared him more

Froissart in Britain

than any other of his uncles, for in his words he would not spare nor forbear the king.

The king always was humble and meek to him, and whatsoever he would demand, the king would grant it him: this Duke had caused in England to be done many cruel and hasty judgments, for he had caused to be beheaded, without title of any good reason, that noble knight Sir Simon Burley and divers others of the king's council, and chased out of England the Archbishop of York, and the Duke of Ireland, because they were so nigh of the king's council, and he laid to their charge that they had counselled the king wrong, and led him as they listed, and had spent the revenues of England at their pleasure.

This Duke had two brethren, the Duke of Lancaster and the Duke of York; these two were ever about the king, whereat this Duke of Gloucester had great envy and would say to divers, as to such as he trusted (as Robert, Bishop of London, and to others, when they came to him to Pleshy), "Friends, my two brethren overcharge greatly the king's house; it were better they were at home at their own houses."

This Duke by subtle covert ways drew to his accord the Londoners, for he thought if he might be sure of them, he should soon have all the rest of the realm to his accord. This Duke had a nephew, son to the daughter of his elder brother, called Lionel, Duke of Clarence; which Duke was married

The King's Youngest Uncle

the second time in Lombardy, to the daughter of Sir Galeas, Duke of Milan, and died in the city of Asti in Piedmont; so this Duke of Gloucester would gladly have seen his nephew, called Roger, Earl of March, son to the daughter of the Duke of Clarence, to have been king of England, and to have had his nephew King Richard deposed, for he said how the king was not worthy to hold nor to govern the realm of England.

This he would say to them that he trusted, and he did so much that he caused the Earl of March to come to his house, and then and there he discovered to him all his intent and secretness, and said how he had determined to make him king of England, and King Richard to be put down, and his wife also, and to be kept in prison during their lives; and so he desired affectuously the Earl to accept his offer and goodwill, saying how he would do the best he could to bring it about, and that he had of his accord and alliance the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Warwick, and divers other prelates and lords of England.

The Earl of March was sore abashed when he heard the Duke his uncle speak such words; howbeit, like a young man he dissembled the matter, and answered wisely to the intent to please the Duke, and said how he would be glad to be ruled as he would have him; but he said he would be well advised before he accepted such promise too soon, and would take therein advice and deliberation.

Froissart in Britain

And when the Duke of Gloucester saw the manner of the Earl, then he desired him to keep the matter secret. The Earl answered, so he would do. Then the Earl departed as soon as he could, and so went into Ireland to his heritage ; and afterward he would never listen to the Duke's treaty, but always excused himself wisely ; yet ever he kept the matter secret, for he saw well the conclusion should not be good.

The Duke of Gloucester saw well how at that time he could not bring his purpose to pass, but still he studied how to make trouble in England, and to find the ways how to renew the war in France : and he had of his accord his wife's uncle, the Earl of Arundel, who desired nothing but war, and they had done so much that they had drawn to their accord the Earl of Warwick.

How the king communed with his brother Sir John Holland, and with the Earl of St. Pol ; and of the dealing of the Londoners thereafter.

The king of England had two brethren by his mother, one called Thomas, Earl of Kent, and the second Sir John Holland, a valiant knight, who had to his wife the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster : he was Earl of Huntingdon and Chamberlain with the king : it was he that slew the son of Richard, Earl of Stafford, which said Earl of Stafford had another son, a squire who was with the Duke of Gloucester.

The King's Youngest Uncle

This Earl of Huntingdon most commonly was ever in the court with the king his brother, and he knew more of the dealing of the Duke of Gloucester than any other did, for covertly and wisely he made enquiry, and also he feared greatly the Duke, for he knew he was fell and sudden, and high-minded, and he saw how he kept his enemy about him, for the death of the young Stafford; and the peace thereof was never made, but the grudge thereof continued still.

The king loved well his brother and bare him out against every man; and the king saw well how his uncle the Duke of Gloucester was ever contrary to him and was ever about to conspire against him and to stir the realm to rebellion: so the king and his brother of Huntingdon would oftentimes commune together.

The same season the French king had sent the Earl of St. Pol into England to see the king and his daughter the queen, and to nourish love; for the truce was made in such manner and condition that their subjects might repair each to other, in despite of all their evil-willers.

The king and the Earl of Huntingdon made them good cheer, as well for the honour of the French king, as for that he had wedded their sister. At that time the Dukes of Lancaster and of York were not with the king, for they began somewhat to dissemble, for they saw well that the people in England began to murmur in divers places on the state and

Froissart in Britain

rule that the king kept, and that the matters were likely to go evil; they thought they would not be at the king's commandment nor at the people's: and all this came by reason of the Duke of Gloucester and his company.

The king of England spared not to show the Earl of St. Pol the state that England stood in, and how he found always his uncle the Duke of Gloucester hard and rebel against him; and shewed him all things that he knew.

When the Earl of St. Pol heard the king say in that wise, he had great marvel thereof, and said how it ought not to be suffered, and said, "Sir, if ye suffer this they will destroy you: it is said in France how the Duke of Gloucester intendeth to nothing but to break the peace and to renew the war again, and that little and little he draweth the hearts of young men of the realm to his part, for they desire rather war than peace; so that the ancient wise men, if the war began to stir, they should not be heard nor believed, for reason, right nor justice hath no place nor audience where evil reigneth; therefore provide therefor rather betimes than too late; it were better ye had them in danger than they you."

These words of the Earl of St. Pol entered greatly into the king's heart, and made him sore to muse; and after that the Earl of St. Pol was returned into France, the king of England shewed all this matter to his brother the Earl of Hunting-

The King's Youngest Uncle

don, who said to the king, "Sir, my fair brother of St. Pol hath shewed you the truth; therefore take good advice in this matter."

And as I was informed, about a month after that the Earl of St. Pol had been in England and returned into France, a perilous fame and report ran in England upon the king, and in a manner there was a general bruit that the Earl of St. Pol's coming into England was to treat with the king that the Frenchmen might have Calais into their hands. This bruit greatly troubled and moved the people in England, insomuch that certain of London rode to Pleshy to the Duke of Gloucester, and shewed him of that matter.

The Duke appeased not their words, but rather augmented it more and more, saying how he could not do therewith, but said he was sure that the Frenchmen would it had cost them all their king's daughters, so that they might have Calais at their pleasure.

This answer set the Londoners afire, and they said how they would speak with the king and shew him how the realm was not content.

"Well," quoth the Duke, "shew it him in good manner, and make him fear that the people will not be content; and mark well what answer he maketh, and shew me thereof the next time I speak with you, and thereupon I shall give you counsel, what ye shall do further. It may well be that there be some false traitors that counsel the king to the

Froissart in Britain

same. There is the Earl Marshal, who is Captain of Calais, who hath been two times in France and tarried at Paris, and he was one of the chief procurers in the treaty for the king's marriage with the daughter of France; and these Frenchmen are right subtle, and can drive their purpose afar off, and little and little pursue their intents, and will give largely to bring about their purpose."

According to the Duke's counsel, the Londoners on a day went to Eltham to the king, at which time there were the king's two brethren, the Earl of Kent and the Earl of Huntingdon, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and of Dublin (his confessor), the Lord Thomas Percy, the Lord Lisle, Richard Credon, John Goullouffre, and divers other knights of the king's chamber. There these Londoners right wisely shewed the king their intents, in a meek humble manner, and said how the bruit ran that the king was about to deliver up Calais into the Frenchmen's hands.

The king had great marvel of these news, for it touched him near to the heart; but right sagely he dissembled the matter for that time, and appeased the Londoners, and said how all that noise was wrong, for it was nothing so; but for truth, he said the Earl of St. Pol was come into England for none other intent but to sport him, and was sent thither by the French king, to see him and the queen his wife: other merchandise, the king said, there was none between them, and the king

The King's Youngest Uncle

sware by the faith that he owed to God and to the crown of England, and said how he had great marvel, whereof such words should rise.

Then the Earl of Salisbury said, "Sirs, ye good men of London, go home to your houses, and be well assured that the king and his council will do nor intend to do anything but that which shall be for the honour and profit of this his realm of England; and whosoever have first brought up these words are evil counselled, and shew well how they would gladly have this realm in trouble, and to have the people to rise against the king; which thing ye of London ought to fear, for by reason of the last rebellion ye were in great peril to have been all utterly destroyed; for when evil people be up and govern, justice nor reason then hath no place."

Those words appeased greatly the Londoners, and they were contented with the king's answer, and so returned to the city of London; and the king tarried at Eltham right pensive and full of displeasure, by reason of the words that he had heard; and had still about him his two brethren and other such as he trusted best, for he thought himself not well assured among his uncles; for he saw well how they absented themselves from his court, and kept them at home at their own houses, so that he was half in doubt of them, and specially of the Duke of Gloucester, and so kept daily about him a guard of a thousand archers.

Froissart in Britain

How the king piteously required advice of his uncles of Lancaster and of York; and how these Dukes departed from the king's court.

It was informed the king of England of a surety, that his uncle the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel purposed with puissance of people to take the king and the young queen and to put them into a castle, there to be kept surely, in an honest manner, with meat and drink and other necessities; and also how there should be set four governors in the realm, as the Duke of Lancaster and the Duke of York, to rule from the Thames northward into the rivers of Humber and Tyne, and of Tweed, running by the city of Berwick, comprehending all the seignories of Northumberland and the bounds of Scotland: and the Duke of Gloucester had all the rule of London and of the Londoners, and of Essex, comprehending all the bounds of the sea, and thither where the river of Humber entereth into the sea, and also of all the ports and havens above London, to Southampton and to Cornwall: and the Earl of Arundel, he to have the rule of the lands moving from London between Sussex and Kent, Arundel, Surrey, Devonshire, and Berkshire, and of all the whole seignories between the river of Thames and Bristol and the river of Severn, which parteth England and Wales: "and they shall hold and do justice and reason to every man. But their

The King's Youngest Uncle

intention is, if they can find any reasonable way, to move again and to renew the war between England and France; and that if the French king would have again his daughter, he should; for since she is but eight years of age, peradventure when she cometh to twelve years she may repent her, and refuse her marriage, because she was married in her youth; and also it was no reason to dismarry her from the heir of Brittany, as it was promised; and if when she cometh to perfect age she will not refuse her marriage, then she must abide by right still queen of England, and have her dowry, but in no wise should she be crowned queen; and if the king died before she came to lawful age, then they purpose to send her again into France to her father."

This was shewed to the king, for such words were spoken by divers Englishmen, and specially by the Londoners, who could not love the king: and they repented them that when the commons of Sussex, Kent, and Essex were up, and came to London, they did break their purpose, for as some of them confessed, they were in mind to have slain the king, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Oxford, and all the king's council; and if they had so done by means of the rebellion, the Londoners then should soon have made a new head, and, by means of the Duke of Gloucester, have found some person to have had the crown and governing of the realm, and thereby have brought the realm into a better case than it was in then.

Froissart in Britain

Thus the Londoners and such others of their sect daily murmured and had many secret councils: all this the king was informed of, and most fault was laid upon the Duke of Gloucester. King Richard was abashed oftentimes when he heard and saw such covert hate and evil will borne against him: always he made loving countenance to his uncle of Gloucester and to the Londoners, but it availed him nothing.

On a day the king said to his other two uncles, of Lancaster and of York, "Sirs, on God's name I require you to give me your advice and counsels: I am daily informed of a surety that your brother, mine uncle of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, and their accomplices, are minded to take me perforce, by the agreement of the Londoners, and purpose to close me in a castle, and to order my finding by certain portion, and my wife's in like wise, who is but young, and to separate her from me and to keep her estate in another place.

"Fair uncles, this is a cruel manner, and it ought not to be suffered, as long as I may withstand it: ye have done me homage and sworn to be true to me in the presence of King Edward of good memory my grandfather, at which time all the great prelates and lords of this realm sware to keep and maintain me as their king, a twenty year past; wherefore, fair uncles, for love and charity, and by the oath and promise that ye have made, counsel me truly as ye are bound to do. For as far as I can

The King's Youngest Uncle

imagine, mine uncle of Gloucester intendeth on none other thing but how he might renew again the war between England and France, and break the peace, which we have confirmed, both you and all others of the realm, by swearing and sealing; and by the same composition I am joined in marriage to the daughter of France, without thinking of any evil: and ye know well that whosoever doeth contrary to that which he is sworn unto and hath sealed to the same, and so approved it, doeth evil and ought to be punished therefor both in body and goods: and also ye know well that I forbear mine uncle of Gloucester as much as I may do, and take no regard to threatening, which might cost me dearly. Uncles, ye are bound to counsel me since I demand it with reason."

And when they heard the king speak thus, and saw how the matter sore troubled his mind, and that it touched him near, and also they knew well much of his saying was true, they said, "Sir, suffer and let the time run and pass; we know well our brother of Gloucester hath the most perilous head and brain of any man in England; but we know well he can do no more than a man may do; if he build on the one side we shall build on the other; as long as ye will be ordered by our counsel, ye shall not need to care for our brother; he saith oftentimes many things whereof followeth none effect: he all alone, nor they of his counsel, cannot break the peace that is taken, nor cannot enclose

Froissart in Britain

you in any castle ; we shall never suffer that, nor to be separated from your wife, for if he say so and think it, he is foully abused.

“Therefore, Sir, we humbly beseech you to appease yourself ; everything shall turn well with God’s grace : all that a man speaketh cometh not to effect, nor he cannot accomplish oftentimes all that he saith.”

Thus the Dukes of Lancaster and York appeased their nephew King Richard.

These two Dukes saw well that the business of England began to be evil, and perceived that great hatred increased daily between the king and the Duke of Gloucester : and to the intent that they would not intermeddle between them, they departed from the king’s court with all their company and servants, and so took their leave of the king for a time, and went to their own : and the Duke of Lancaster took with him his wife the Lady Katherine Roet, who had been in company with the young queen of England, and went a-hunting of the deer, as the usage is in England ; and the king tarried about London.

But afterward the king’s uncles repented them that they departed out of the court ; for there fell afterward such matters in England that all the realm was in trouble, the which had not so fortunèd if they had been about the king ; for they would have found other provision for the matter than they did that counselled the king.

The King's Youngest Uncle

How King Richard followed young counsel: and how the Duke of Gloucester was taken by the Earl Marshal, by the commandment of the king.

There were none of the king's servants but that greatly doubted the Duke of Gloucester and would gladly that he had been dead, they had not cared how.

The gentle knight Sir Thomas Percy had been long sovereign Squire of the King's House (that is, in France, Master and Seneschal); for all the state of the king passed through his hands. He then considering the great hatreds that increased between the king and his uncle of Gloucester, and among other great lords of England, with whom he was well beloved, like a sage knight he imagined that the conclusions could not be good; then he gave up his office as honourably as he could, and took leave of the king, and the king gave him leave full sore against his will; howbeit he made such excusations that he departed, and another was set in his office.

The king had then but young counsel about him, and they greatly doubted the Duke of Gloucester, and oftentimes would say to the king, "Right dear Sir, it is a perilous thing to serve you, for we have seen such as have served you in times past, and such as were right singular in your favour, yet they have had but small guerdon. Sir Simon Burley, who was

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a sage valiant knight and in good favour with my lord your father, whom God pardon, he had great pain and travail for your first marriage; yet your uncle the Duke of Gloucester caused him to die shamefully, his head to be stricken off like a traitor before all the world, with divers others that he hath put to death, as ye know well; for all the puissance that ye were of, ye could not save them; and, Sir, we that serve you now, look for the same reward; for when your uncle cometh to you, the which is not often, we dare not lift up our eyes to look upon any person, he looketh so high over us; he thinketh we do him much wrong that we be so near about you as we be; wherefore, Sir, know for truth that as long as he liveth there shall be no peace in England, nor ye shall do no man good; also he threateneth you and your wife to close you up in a castle, there to be holden under subjection and to live by portion.

“Sir, ye be a king lost if ye take not good heed to yourself; as for your wife, she needeth not to care; she is young, and daughter to [the French king; they dare not displease her, for much evil might come thereby in England. Your uncle of Gloucester, to the intent to make you to be hated by your people, hath sown divers slanderous words upon you throughout London and in other places, saying how ye be not worthy to bear the crown nor to hold so noble a heritage as is the realm of England, since ye have taken to your wife the daughter

The King's Youngest Uncle

of the French king your adversary; whereby he saith ye have greatly feebled the signory and realm of England and have sore discouraged the hearts of the noble valiant knights and squires of the realm, who have always valiantly continued the war, and yet would do.

“Thus they say that ye have brought the realm in great peril and adventure to be lost, affirming how it is pity that ye have been suffered to continue so long as ye have done; also the Frenchmen say that ye will put out of your arms the arms of France, wherewith the people are not content and hate you therefor, and they think it true, because ye were so ready and glad to take a truce, they think more rather by force than by love, for the noble men of the realm, who have served and maintained the wars, never agreed thereto.

“Also they say that ye have not diligently resisted nor overseen the letters patent given, accorded, sworn, and sealed by King John, sometime French king, and by his sons; the which grant, his children living, was in nothing upholden, but craftily broken; and the Frenchmen found casuistries and subtleties by wrongful ways to renew again the war, and thereby took and usurped all the right that your predecessors had in that quarrel, and have won thereby lands and countries in Aquitaine, with cities, castles, towns.

“And all this, they say, ye take no heed of, but have lost it through your negligence, and have

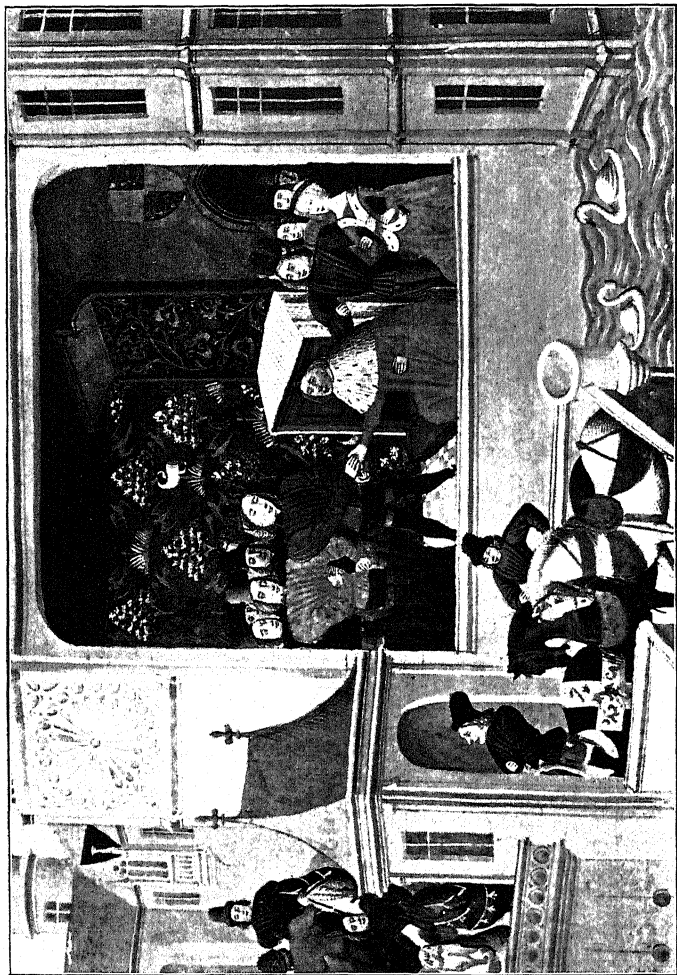
Froissart in Britain

shewed but poor courage, and that ye fear your enemies, and have not pursued the accidents of the matter and the good and just quarrel that ye had and yet have; the which quarrel your predecessors had as long as they lived; first, my lord your father, the Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, and also good King Edward your grandfather, who took great pain and diligence to augment their seignories.

“Thus, Sir, the Londoners say, and so do others, that a day shall come that ye shall repent you; therefore, Sir, we can no longer hide those words from you, for they be daily renewed.”

King Richard of England noted well these said words, the which were shewed him in secretness; and like an imaginative prince as he was, within a season after that his uncles of Lancaster and of York were departed out of the court, then the king took more hardiness on him and said to himself that first it were better for him to destroy another rather than another should destroy him, thinking that shortly he would have his uncle of Gloucester in such case, that he would be assured of him that he should do him no displeasure after.

And because he could not bring about his purpose alone, he discovered his mind to such as he trusted best, as to the Earl Marshal his cousin, Earl of Nottingham, and he shewed him his full mind what he would do and have to be done. The Earl Marshal, who loved the king better than



THE KING'S VISIT TO PLESHY

The King's Youngest Uncle

the Earl of Gloucester did, kept the king's purpose secret, saving from such as he would be aided by, for he could not do the king's pleasure alone.

On a day the king, in manner as going a-hunting, rode to Havering Bower, a twenty mile from London, in Essex, and within twenty mile of Pleshy, where the Duke of Gloucester held his house.

After dinner the king departed from Havering with a small company, and came to Pleshy about five o'clock: the weather was fair and hot; so the king came suddenly thither about the time that the Duke of Gloucester had supped, for he was but a small eater, nor sat never long at dinner nor at supper.

When he heard of the king's coming, he went to meet with him in the midst of the court, and so did the Duchess and her children, and they welcomed the king, and the king entered into the hall, and so into a chamber.

Then a board was spread for the king's supper: the king sat not long, and said at his first coming, "Fair uncle, cause five or six horses of yours to be saddled, for I will pray you to ride with me to London; for to-morrow the Londoners will be before us, and there will be also mine uncles of Lancaster and of York, with divers other noblemen: for upon the Londoners' requests I will be ordered according to your counsel: and command your

Froissart in Britain

steward to follow you with your train to London, where they shall find you."

The Duke, who thought no evil, lightly agreed to the king: and when the king had supped and risen, everything was ready.

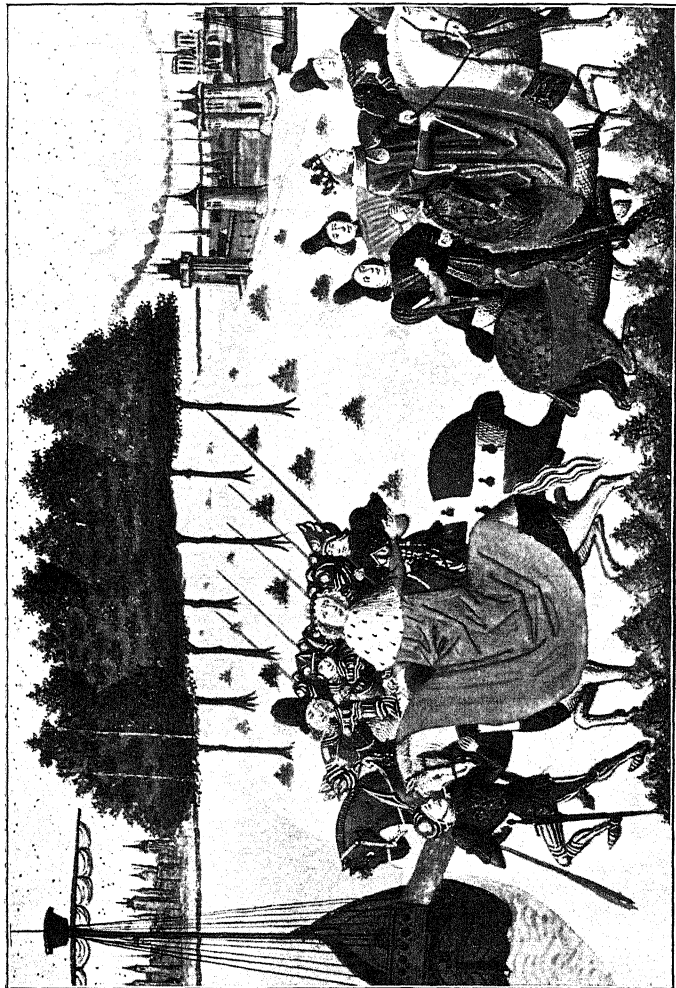
The king then took leave of the Duchess and of her children, and leapt a-horseback, and the Duke with him, accompanied all only with but seven servants, three squires and four yeomen, and took the way of Bondelay, to take the plain way, and to eschew Brentwood and London common high way.

So they rode, a great pace, and the king talked by the way with his uncle, and he with him; and so they approached to Stratford on the river of Thames.

When the king came near to the ambush that he had laid, then he rode from his uncle a great pace, and left him somewhat behind him: then suddenly the Earl Marshal with his band came galloping after the Duke, and overtook him and said, "Sir, I arrest you in the king's name."

The Duke was abashed with that word, and saw well he was betrayed, and began to call loud after the king. I cannot tell whether the king heard him or not; but he turned not, but rode forth rather faster than he did before.

THE ARREST OF GLOUCESTER



The King's Youngest Uncle

Of the death of the Duke of Gloucester and of the Earl of Arundel, and how the Earl of Warwick was in danger to have lost his head.

The same night the king lay at the Tower of London, but the Duke of Gloucester was otherwise lodged, for by force he was put into a barge, and out of the barge into a ship that lay in the Thames, and the Earl Marshal with him and all his company, and they did so much that the next day they came to Calais, without knowledge of any man except the king's officers of the said town.

Ye may well know when the taking of the Duke was known at Pleshy by the Duchess and her children, they were sore troubled and abashed, and thought that the matter went not well. The Duchess demanded counsel, what was best to do, of Sir John Lackguy.

The knight answered that it was best to send to his brethren the Dukes of Lancaster and of York, that they might find some means to appease the king's displeasure; for he said he thought that the king would not displease them.

The Duchess did as the knight counselled her, and incontinent she sent messengers to these two Dukes, who were far asunder; who when they heard thereof were sore displeased and sent word again to the Duchess that she should be of good comfort, for they said they knew well the king

Froissart in Britain

would not deal with him but by lawful judgment; but then they knew not where he was. The Duchess and her children were somewhat comforted with their answer.

The king the next day went from the Tower of London to Eltham, and there tarried. The same night were brought to the Tower of London as prisoners, the Earl of Arundel and the Earl of Warwick; whereof they of the city of London had great marvel and made thereof great murmuring, but none durst say nay against the king's pleasure: but all manner of people, knights, squires, burgesses of good cities and towns of England, said, "We have very well suffered; the Duke of Lancaster and the Duke of York, brethren to the Duke of Gloucester, they may provide for this when it please them; we think they would well have provided for the matter if that they had known the king's intent against their brother of Gloucester; but because they were not diligent in the cause, the matter is come evil, and like to have an evil conclusion."

When the Duke of Gloucester was brought to the castle of Calais, then he feared greatly, and said to the Earl Marshal, "For what cause am I brought out of England hither to Calais? Methinks ye hold me as a prisoner; let me go abroad and see the fortress about."

"Sir," quoth the Marshal, "that ye desire, I dare not do it, for I have the charge upon you on pain of my life; the king my sovereign lord is a little mis-



THE DEATH OF GLOUCESTER

The King's Youngest Uncle

content with you, wherefore ye must take patience here for a season, till I hear other news, and that shall be shortly, by God's grace : for, Sir, as help me God, I am right sorry for your trouble if I might remedy it ; but, Sir, ye know well I am sworn to the king, wherefore I must obey, and so will I do, for saving of mine honour."

The Duke could have none other answer, but by what he said he feared greatly for his life : and on a day he desired a priest that sang Mass before him, that he might be confessed, and so he was at good leisure, before the Sacrament, with devout heart, and cried God mercy, and was sore repentant of all his sins ; and indeed it was time for him so to do, for his death was nearer to him than he was ware of.

For as I was informed, when he had dined, and was about to have washen his hands, there came into the chamber four men, and cast suddenly a towel about the Duke's neck, two at the one end and two at the other, and drew so sore that he fell to the earth, and so they strangled him and closed his eyes.

And when he was dead, they despoiled him and bare him to his bed and laid him between the sheets all naked, and his head on a soft pillow, and covered with clothes furred : and then they issued out of the chamber into the hall, well determined what they would say, and said openly how a palsy had taken the Duke of Gloucester the same night suddenly,

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and so he died. These words anon were abroad in the town of Calais: some believed them and some not.

Within two days that the Duke was thus dead, the Earl Marshal apparelled himself in black, because he was his near cousin, and so were many other knights and squires that were in Calais.

His death was sooner known in France and in Flanders than in England: the Frenchmen were glad thereof, for there was a common bruit that there should be no good peace between France and England as long as he lived; and in all treaties between France and England he was evermore harder and obstinate than any other of his brethren; wherefore they cared not for his death.

In like wise many men in England, both knights, squires, and other officers of the king's, who were in fear of him because of his cruelty, all such were glad of his death: they took to record his cruel deeds by the Duke of Ireland, whom he had exiled out of England; also the death of that valiant knight Sir Simon Burley, and of Sir Robert Tresilian, Sir Nicholas Bramber, Sir John Standish and divers others. The Duke's death was but little regarded in England, except with such as were of his opinion.

Thus this Duke died in Calais: his body was embalmed and cased in lead and covered, and so sent by sea into England, and the ship that carried him arrived at the castle of Hadley, upon Thames'

The King's Youngest Uncle

side, and from thence he was carried by chariot simply to his own place at Pleshy, and there buried in the church, which the said Duke had founded in the honour of the Holy Trinity, wherein were twelve canons to sing divine service.

Ye may well know that the Duchess of Gloucester, and Humphry his son and his two sisters, were sore discomfited when they saw the Duke brought thither dead. The Duchess had double sorrow, for Richard, Earl of Arundel, her uncle, was beheaded openly, by the king's commandment, in Cheapside : there was no lord durst speak to the contrary, the king being present at the same justice doing : it was done by the Earl Marshal, who had to wife the daughter of the said Earl of Arundel, and yet he bound his eyes himself.

The Earl of Warwick was in great danger to be beheaded, but the Earl of Salisbury, who was in the king's favour, desired the king for his life, and so did divers other barons and prelates in England.

The king inclined to their requests, so that he might be banished, and put in such a place as he might not come from, for the king would not clearly forgive him : he said he had well deserved to die, because he was of counsel with the Duke of Gloucester and with the Earl of Arundel, to have broken the peace and truce taken between France and England ; for the which article the king said they had deserved to die ; for the peace was taken

Froissart in Britain

between the parties on such condition that whosoever did break it should be worthy to die.

The Earl of Salisbury, who had been the Earl of Warwick's companion divers times, in excusing him said how he was an old man, and was desired by the Duke of Gloucester by his fair words; wherefore he said that what he did was not of his own motion, but by theirs; affirming how there was never none of the Beauchamps that ever did treason against the crown of England.

Thus the Earl of Warwick for pity was respited from death; he was banished into the Isle of Wight. And it was said to him, "Earl of Warwick, ye have deserved to die as well as the Earl of Arundel; but the great service that ye have done in time past to King Edward, and to the prince his son, and to the crown of England, as well on this side the sea as beyond, hath done you great aid, for the king hath pity on you and hath granted you your life: but it is ordained by judgment, that ye shall go into the Isle of Wight, and live there as long as ye can, and shall have sufficient of your own to maintain there your estate soberly; but ye may never depart thence."

The Earl took this punishment in patience, and thanked the king and his council for saving his life, and so made him ready to go thither at the day appointed; in the which isle was space sufficient for a lord to keep his estate, environed with the sea.

The King's Youngest Uncle

Thus passed forth these judgments in England at that season : which multiplied daily worse and worse, as ye shall hear after.

*How the king's uncles and the Londoners took the matter :
and how the king reigned more fiercely than before.*

When the death of the Duke of Gloucester was known by the Dukes of Lancaster and of York, incontinent they knew well that the king their nephew had caused him to be slain and murdered at Calais. These two Dukes were not then together ; each of them were at their own places ; they wrote each to other to know what were best to do, and so they came to London, for they knew well the Londoners were not content with the death of the Duke their brother.

When they met there together they took counsel, and said such deeds ought not to be suffered, as to put to death so high a prince as was their brother, for idle words and false reports ; for they said, though he spake oftentimes of breaking the peace, yet he never broke it, and between saying and doing is great difference, and by reason of words he ought not to deserve death by such cruel punishment. These two Dukes were in the case to have put all England to great trouble, and there were enough ready to counsel them thereto, and specially those of the Earl of Arundel's lineage, and of the Earl of Stafford's, which was a great kindred in England.

Froissart in Britain

The king was then at Eltham, and had sent for all such as held of him in chief, and he had ready assembled together about London, in Kent and Essex, more than ten thousand archers; and Sir John Holland his brother was with him, and the Earl Marshal and the Earl of Salisbury, and a great number of lords and knights; and the king sent to them of London that they should not receive the Duke of Lancaster.

They answered and said they knew no cause that the Duke had done, why they should refuse him.

The Duke of Lancaster was at London, and the Earl of Derby his son, and also the Duke of York and his son John, Earl of Rutland: the king loved beyond measure the Duke of Rutland, who dissembled concerning the death of his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, and shewed how he would gladly see a good peace between the parties, and said how he knew well that his uncle did wrong oftentimes against the king.

The Londoners in like wise considered the great mischief that might fall in England, by the dissension between the king's uncles and the king, and their alliances; also they considered, since the mischief was fallen of the Duke of Gloucester's death, that there was no recovery therein. They knew well it was because the Duke of Gloucester had been too lavish of his tongue, and would have stirred the realm to have broken the truce between England and France: wherefore such as were wise

The King's Youngest Uncle

men in the city dissembled in the matter, and thought it was no time to mend it then; they feared the puissance of France, and losing of their merchandise.

Then they began to treat, and went as a mean between the king and the Duke of Lancaster, who was in many imaginations, for the death of his brother troubled him sore: also he saw how his nephew King Richard was allied by marriage with the French king; also the Duke of Lancaster had two of his daughters out of the land, one queen of Spain, another queen of Portugal, by whom he thought he should have great aid if he made war against his nephew King Richard.

All things considered, the Duke changed his courage, at the desire of the Londoners and of other prelates of England, who were mean between the king and him; and by their means the king was agreed with the Duke, and peace was made. With that the king promised from thence forward to be governed by the Duke of Lancaster, and to do nothing but by his counsel and advice; which promise the king nothing fulfilled, but was counselled by young and wild counsel, which was to his hurt and great damage, as ye shall hear after in this history.

Thus the king of England had peace with his uncles, touching the death of the Duke of Gloucester: then he began to reign more fiercely than he did before.

Froissart in Britain

The king went and lay in Essex, where the Duke of Gloucester had the chief rule, which ought to have pertained to Humphry, his son and heir; but the king took all, for the ordinance in England was, the king to have the ward of all heirs, children orphans under the age of twenty-one years, and then they to have their heritages. Thus the king took the wardship of his cousin, the Duke of Gloucester's heir, and the king took the possession and profit of all the Duke's land, and kept the child with him; and the Duchess of Gloucester and her two daughters were with the queen.

The Duke of Gloucester by inheritance was Constable of England: the king took that office from the right heir and gave it to his cousin the Earl of Rutland.

The king then kept greater state than ever he did; nor there had not been no king before in England that spent so much yearly by a hundred thousand nobles as he did. In like wise the king had with him the heir of the Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded at London. And because a knight that was belonging to the Duke of Gloucester, called Cerbe, spake at a time certain words against the king and his council, he was taken and beheaded.

Sir John Lackingay was in great peril: but when he saw that the matters went so diversely as they did, he dissembled as much as he might, and departed from the Duchess of Gloucester's house, and went and dwelt in other places.

The King's Youngest Uncle

In those days there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did or would do ; he had counsel meet for his appetite, who exhorted him to do what he listed. The king kept still in his wages ten thousand archers night and day, that waited on him ; for he reputed himself not perfectly sure of his uncles, nor of the lineage of Arundel.

XI

THE COMING OF LANCASTER

How the Earl Marshal in England appealed by gage of battle the Earl of Derby, son to the Duke of Lancaster, in the presence of the king and his council.

KING RICHARD of England had a condition, that if he loved a man he would make him so great and so near him that it was marvel to consider, and no man durst speak to the contrary: and specially the Earl Marshal was as great in the king's favour as might be. And to the intent to please the king and to flatter him, he made the king believe that he was a true, faithful, and a secret servant, and that he could not endure to hear any word spoken against the king; and told the king many things to have the king's love: howbeit oftentimes a man thinketh to be advanced, and is pulled back; and so it fortune of the Earl Marshal; I shall shew you how.

On a day the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal communed together of divers matters; at the last the Earl of Derby spoke certain words which he thought for the best, weening that they should never have been called to rehearsal; which words were neither villainous nor outrageous, for he said

The Coming of Lancaster

thus, "St. Mary! fair cousin, what thinketh the king our cousin to do? Will he drive out of England all the noble men? Within a while there shall be none left; it seemeth clearly that he willeth not the augmentation of his realm."

The Earl Marshal gave no answer, but dissembled the matter, and took it that he spake against the king, and thought in himself that the Earl of Derby was right likely to make great trouble in England, because he was so great with the Londoners, and the devil was ready to stir his brain.

So he thought to shew this matter to the king when noble men should be present: and on a day, to please the king, he said, "Right dear Sir, I am of your lineage, and am your liege man, and Marshal of England; wherefore, Sir, I am bound to you by mine allegiance and oath sworn, my hands in yours, that I should be in no place hearing anything contrary to your majesty royal, and should keep it secret."

The king looked on him and demanded, "Why say you these words? we will know it."

"My right redoubted sovereign lord," quoth the Earl Marshal, "I say it because I cannot suffer anything that should be prejudicial or against your Grace. Sir, cause the Earl of Derby to come before you, and then I shall shew you more."

Then the Earl of Derby was sent for, and the king commanded the Earl Marshal to stand up, for he was on his knee while he spoke to the king.

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Then the Earl Marshal said, "Sir Earl of Derby, I say to you ye have thought evil and spoken otherwise than ye ought to do against your natural lord the king of England, when ye said that he was not worthy to hold land or realm, saying that without law or justice, without counsel of any of his noble men, he disturbeth his realm, and without title or good reason putteth out of his realm and destroyeth them who ought to aid and sustain him : wherefore here I cast my gage, and will prove with my body against yours that ye are an evil false traitor."

The Earl of Derby was sore abashed with those words, and stepped back a little and stood still a season without demanding of his father or of any other what answer he should make.

When he had studied a little he stepped forth with his cap in his hand, and came before the king and the Earl Marshal, and said, "Earl Marshal, I say thou art an evil and a false traitor, and that I shall prove, my body against thine ; and in that quarrel here is my gage."

Then each of these Earls drew to their company and lineage, so that the manner of taking of wine and spices was let pass, for the king shewed himself to be right sore displeased, and so entered into his chamber and left his two uncles without, and all their children. Thus the lords departed for that day.

Then these two Earls made provision for that which was necessary for them for their battle. • The

The Coming of Lancaster

Earl of Derby sent his messengers into Lombardy to the Duke of Milan, Sir Galeas, for to have armour to his pleasure. The Earl Marshal on his part sent into Germany and into other places to provide him.

The king, all the season that these two lords prepared for their battle, had many imaginations whether he should suffer them to fight or not. When the day approached, then certain of the king's council came to the king and said, "Sir, will ye suffer them to fight?"

"Yea truly," quoth the king, "why should they not?"

"Sir," quoth they, "we are bound to counsel you; and, Sir, we oftentimes hear words spoken that ye cannot hear."

"How so?" quoth the king. "Speak further and spare not."

"Sir," quoth they, "the report runneth throughout England, and specially in the city of London, which is the sovereign city of your realm; they say ye are cause of this enterprise between these two lords, and that ye have set the Earl Marshal to fight with the Earl of Derby: and if the Londoners rise against you, with such noble men as will take their part, ye shall be of no puissance to resist them: Sir, ye had never more need of good counsel than ye have now."

When the king heard these words, he changed countenance, the words were so quickly spoken: therewith the king turned from them, and leaned

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out at a window and studied a certain space: then he turned again to them and said, "Sirs, if I should refuse your counsel I were greatly to blame; wherefore, Sirs, consider what is best for me to do."

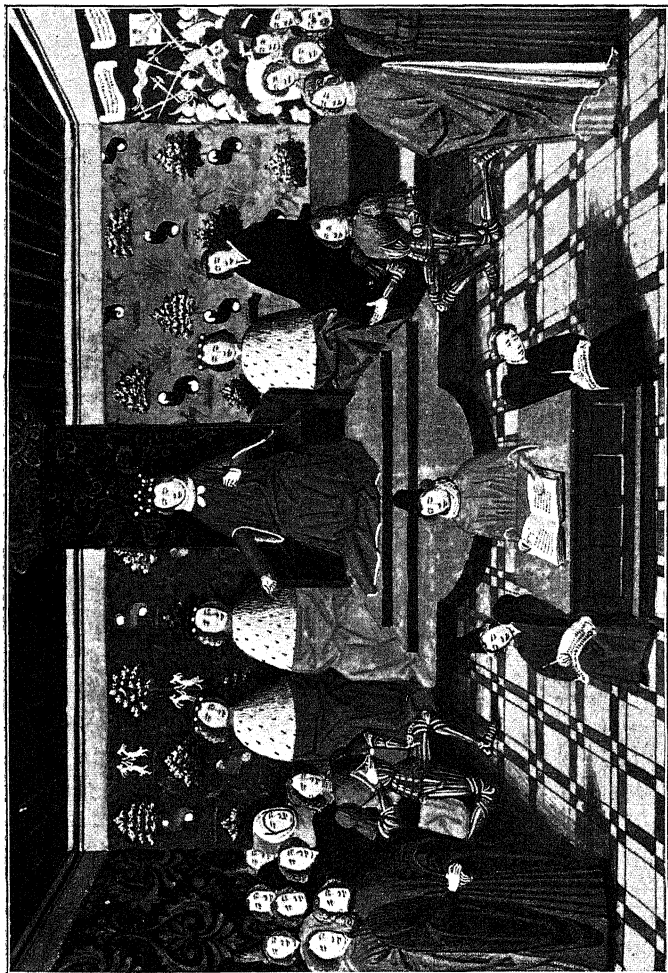
"Sir," quoth one of them that spoke for all, "we think that ye should send to them and cause them to be bound to abide your ordinance in this enterprise, and then ye may give them this judgment: that within fifteen days after, the Earl Marshal avoid the realm, without any trust ever to return again; and the Earl of Derby in like wise to avoid the realm and to be banished for ten year: and when he shall depart, to please the people withal, release four year of the ten, and so let him be banished for six year without pardon."

The king studied a little and said, "Sirs, ye counsel me truly, and I shall follow your counsel."

How King Richard gave sentence, and how the Earl of Derby departed from London to go into France.

Anon after that this counsel was given to the king he assembled great number of prelates and great lords of England, and they came to him at Eltham: then the king sent for the Earl of Derby and the Earl Marshal; and they bound themselves to abide the king's order.

Then the king gave sentence, whereby he banished out of England the Earl of Derby for ten year, and the Earl Marshal for ever.



KING RICHARD GIVING JUDGMENT ON DERBY AND NORFOLK

The Coming of Lancaster

This sentence greatly contented the lords that were then present, and they said, "The Earl of Derby may well enough go and sport him out of the realm for two or three years, he is young enough: he cannot go amiss, go where he will, and the king may recall him again by good means when it shall please him, for he is one of the fairest flowers in his garland; he shall not be long absent if the king purpose to have the love of his people. But the Earl Marshal is in a far worse case, and to say the truth he hath well deserved it, for all this mischief is come by him and by his words."

Thus divers knights and squires of England talked together one with another the same day that the king gave the said judgment.

The two Earls, when they saw what sentence the king had given them, they were right sore pensive, and good cause why. The Earl Marshal sore repented of that he had said and done, for when he began the matter he thought to have been borne out by the king otherwise than he was. When he saw there was no remedy he made his exchange from London to Bruges, and finally to Cologne. Let us leave speaking of him, and speak of the Earl of Derby.

When his day of departure approached, he came to Eltham to the king; and at the Earl's departing the king humbled him greatly to his cousin of Derby, and said, "As God help me, it right greatly displeaseth me, the words that have been between

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you and the Earl Marshal ; but the sentence that I have given is for the best, and for to appease thereby the people, who greatly murmured on this matter ; wherefore, cousin, yet to ease you somewhat of your pain, I release my judgment from ten year to six year. Cousin, take this in patience, and ordain you thereafter."

The Earl answered and said, "Sir, I thank your Grace, and when it shall please you ye shall do me more grace."

All the lords that were there were well contented with the king as for that time. Then every man departed, and some went to London with the Earl of Derby.

When the Earl departed from London there were in the streets more than forty thousand men, weeping and crying after him, that it was pity to hear ; and some said, "O gentle Earl of Derby, shall we thus lose you ? This realm shall never be in joy till ye return again ; but the day of return is very long, for envy, falsehood, and treason have put you out of this realm, where ye ought to abide rather than many others, for ye are of such lineage and of so noble blood, that none ought to be compared to you ; and, gentle Earl, why shall we lose you ? Ye never did nor thought evil."

Thus men and women piteously spoke ; and some said secretly, "It is now no time ; since the Duke of Lancaster his father suffereth it, we must needs suffer it."

The Coming of Lancaster

Then the Earl departed and came to Calais and took the way to Amiens, and in every place he was well received ; so he came to Paris where the French king was, who received the Earl nobly ; the Earl made his reverence, and acquainted him with the king after good manner so much that he greatly pleased the king.

The words that were between them I cannot tell, but all was well ; and after taking of spice and wine the Earl took leave of the king, and then went to the queen in the same house, and she made him joyous cheer : then the Earl took his horse to go to his lodging, and so was conveyed thither.

Thus passed the time, and the lords of France did oftentimes keep him company, and caused him to pass the time with sports and otherwise, to the intent he should think the season the shorter, because he was out of his own nation.

Of the death of the Duke of Lancaster and how the king took the heritage by force ; and of a treaty of marriage between the Earl of Derby and the Duke of Berry's daughter, and how King Richard of England did hinder it.

It fell that about the feast of Christmas, Duke John of Lancaster, who lived in great displeasure, what because the king had banished his son out of the realm for so little a cause, and also because of the evil governing of the realm by his nephew King

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Richard ; for he saw well that if he long persevered and were suffered to continue, the realm was likely to be utterly lost :—with these imaginations and others, the Duke fell sick ; whereon he died ; whose death was greatly sorrowed of all his friends and lovers.

The king, by that he shewed, took no great care for his death : he wrote thereof in manner of joy to the French king, and not to his cousin the Earl of Derby ; howbeit the Earl knew it as soon as the French king, or sooner, by such men as he had in England.

The Earl of Derby, after the death of his father, was right inheritor to be Duke of Lancaster, and to have been the second person of the realm, and he was better beloved with the people than any other man within the realm : all these things wisely considered, after the death of the Duke of Lancaster the king should have recalled him again into the realm, but the king had no mind so to do, for he did clean the contrary ; for incontinent he sent his officers into all the Duke of Lancaster's lands and took the profits thereof to himself, and said that as long as the Earl of Derby stood as a banished man he nor none of his should receive any revenues of any lands within the realm of England.

And moreover the king gave away lands pertaining to the heritage of the Duchy of Lancaster to some of his servants, such as asked them ; for the which cause many knights and others in England spoke and

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said, "This is too much done against all right and reason, and to the displeasure of all the noble men of England; this cannot long endure unamended."

In like wise in the realm of France such men of honour as heard speaking of this matter had great marvel thereof and said one to another, "As we think, the king of England hath taken too great a displeasure with his cousin the Earl of Derby, who is the greatest man in England next himself: he is a gracious knight, courteous, meek, and treatable, and a man good to be spoken unto."

As for the French king and his brother and his uncles, they honoured and loved greatly the Earl of Derby, and desired much his company; and they saw well he was a widower and to marry, and that the Duke of Berry had a daughter, a widow of two husbands; she was but young, of a twenty-three year of age, and was named Mary: this marriage was at a point to have concluded, but King Richard of England and his council broke all that matter, for the fortunes of this world (which are marvellous) and the thing that shall be, cannot be avoided; the fortune of this King Richard was so marvellous that it is hard to think thereon; the king might well have remedied the matter if he had willed; but that that shall be, shall be.

When he heard of the said treaty of marriage, the king sent into France the Earl of Salisbury with letters of credence to the French king, naming the Earl of Derby traitor against his natural lord.

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Anon the Earl of Derby heard thereof by the Duke of Burgundy, being in the king's presence.

Therewith he was greatly abashed, and changed colour, and said, "Sir, I will answer to this: I was never traitor nor never thought treason, and if there be any person that will charge me with treason I am ready to answer, now or when it shall please the king here being present."

"Nay, cousin," quoth the king, "I believe ye shall find no man in France that will challenge your honour; for the words that mine uncle hath spoken came out of England."

Then the Earl kneeled down and said, "Sir, I believe it well; but God defend me, and all my friends, and confound all mine enemies."

The French king took up the Earl and said, "Cousin, appease yourself; everything shall turn to the best: and when everything is agreed and at peace, then we may well speak and treat of marriage; but first ye must take possession in the Duchy of Lancaster, for that is the usage in France and in divers countries on this side the sea, that if a lord shall marry by the consent of his sovereign lord, he must endow his wife."

And therewith they had spices and wine, and ceased that communication, and every man departed to their own lodgings.

The Coming of Lancaster

*How the people of England murmured against the king,
and how the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent into
France to the Earl of Derby to have him to return
into England.*

The same season the state generally of all men in England began to murmur and to rise one against another, and ministering of justice was clean stopped up in all courts of England; whereof the valiant men and prelates, who loved rest and peace, and were glad to pay their duties, were greatly abashed: for there rose in the realm companies in divers routes, keeping the fields and highways, so that merchants durst not ride abroad to exercise their merchandise for fear of robbing; and no man knew to whom to complain to do them right, reason, and justice.

Which things were right prejudicial and displeasing to the good people of England, for it was contrary to their accustomed usage; for all people, labourers and merchants in England were wont to live in rest and peace, and to occupy their merchandise peaceably, and the labourers to labour their lands quietly: and then it was contrary, for when merchants rode from town to town with their merchandise, and had either gold or silver in their purses, it was taken from them, and from other men, and from labourers out of their houses: these companions would take wheat, oats, beef,

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mutton, pork, and the poor men durst speak no word.

These evil deeds daily multiplied so, that great complaints and lamentations were made thereof throughout the realm, and the good people said, "The time is changed upon us from good to evil, ever since the death of good King Edward the Third, in whose days justice was well kept and ministered: in his days there was no man so hardy in England to take a hen, or a chicken, or a sheep, without he had paid truly for it; and nowadays all that we have is taken from us, and yet we dare not speak. These things cannot long endure, but that England is likely to be lost without recovery: we have a king now that will do nothing; he intendeth but to idleness and to accomplish his pleasure, and by what he sheweth, he careth not how everything goeth, so he may have his will."

Thus they communed together in divers places of the realm, and they concluded to send into France for the Earl of Derby, and to shew him the evil governing of King Richard, and to put to him the crown and governing of the realm of England, and so to make him king and his heirs for ever, so that he would keep the realm in all good usages.

Then it was thought that he that should go in that message must be a wise man and of good credence, for they said that for any simple words of a mean messenger, or for any letters, the Earl would

The Coming of Lancaster

give no faith thereto, but rather think it should be to betray him.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of honour and prudence, was desired to do that message, who for the common profit of the realm accorded to go at their desire, and ordained for his departure so wisely that none knew thereof but such as ought to know it.

And so he took a ship at London, and but seven all only with him, and so passed to Sluys, and so to Valenciennes, and there took his lodging at the sign of the Swan in the market place, and there tarried a three days and refreshed himself. He rode not like no bishop, but like a monk pilgrim, and discovered to no man what he was nor what he intended to do.

The fourth day he departed, and took a man to be his guide to Paris, saying how he would go a pilgrimage to St. Maur: he did so much that he came thither where the Earl of Derby was, at a place beside Paris.

When the Earl saw the Archbishop of Canterbury coming to him, his heart and spirits rejoiced, for he thought well then to hear some news out of England.

The Archbishop shewed not then the cause of his coming, but dissembled, and said openly he was come on pilgrimage to St. Maur: all such as were about the Earl thought it had been so.

When the Archbishop saw his time he took apart the Earl of Derby alone into a chamber, and closed

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the door to them: then he shewed the Earl the debility of the realm of England and the desolation thereof and how justice had no place to reign for default of a good king, and for that cause he was sent thither to him to desire him to return into England, and they would make him king.

When the Earl had heard the Archbishop's words, he was not hasty in giving an answer, but leaned out at a window looking down into a garden, and studied a certain space, and had many imaginations: then he called to him his counsel, and demanded what was best for him to do.

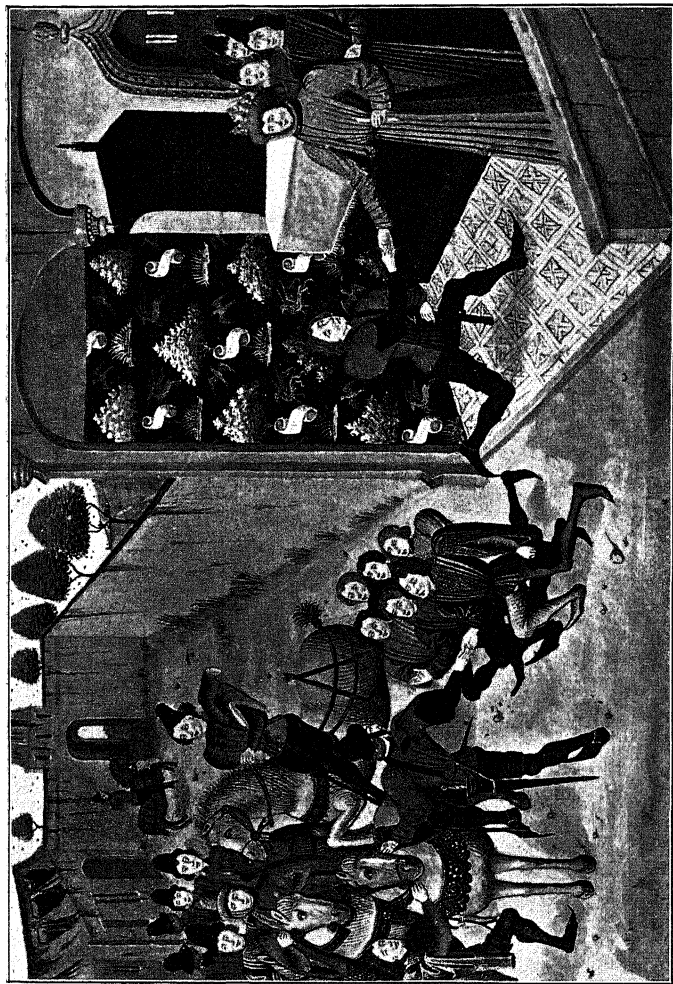
They all answered with one voice, "Sir, God hath taken pity of you: howsoever ye do, refuse not this bargain, for ye shall never have a better."

When the Earl heard them so earnestly counsel him, his spirits opened and he said, "Sirs, I will do as ye will have me."

Then as secretly as they could they ordained for their departure; then it was devised how they might pass the sea before any knowledge thereof should come into England.

How the Earl of Derby arrived in England, and how tidings thereof came to King Richard.

The Earl of Derby when he was ready, he went to Paris to the king, as he was accustomed to do, for ever when he came there was no door closed against him. At this last time he spoke wisely to



DERBY TAKING LEAVE OF THE FRENCH COURT

The Coming of Lancaster

the king, and shewed him how he would go and sport him a season in Brittany. The French king thought nothing but good, and so gave him lightly leave.

So, to make short, the Earl ordained all his business by great wisdom, and took his leave of all the lords of France, and he gave great gifts to the king's officers and to officers of arms, and to minstrels : and in the House of Clisson he made a supper to all such as would come to him : and the next day he took his horse and departed from Paris, and so came to Brittany.

The Earl tarried there a certain space, and made his provision at Vannes ; and when the wind served, he and his company took the sea ; he had with him three ships of war to conduct him into England, and the further they sailed the better wind they had, so that within two days and two nights they arrived in England, and issued out of their ships.

They in England were all glad of that tidings, and they chose certain men to go abroad to publish the Earl's coming to lords, knights, and squires, and they had so great desire to go forth that they were loth to tarry one for another.

The next day a great number of men, women, and children and the clergy came to meet with the Earl, they had such desire to see him ; and when they came into his sight they cried, "Welcome ! noble Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster : God send you joy, wealth, and prosperity !"

Then it was said to the Earl, "Sir, behold how the people rejoice of your coming."

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“That is true,” quoth the Earl; and always as he rode he inclined his head to the people on every side.

The people were so joyful of the Earl’s coming, that there was no more working that day than if it had been Easter Day.

To come to a conclusion of this business, the Earl of Derby took on him to be king, and so to endure for ever, he and his heirs; and it was ordained that twelve thousand men well armed should ride with him towards Bristol, where King Richard then lay with his host: thus he departed, and as he rode, the country fell in to him.

Tidings came into the king’s host of the coming of the Earl of Derby; many knights, squires, and others knew it before the king had knowledge thereof, but they durst not speak thereof. When the matter could no longer be hid, the king was sore abashed, and wist not what to say, for all his spirits trembled: then he was counselled to ride to the castle of Flint and close him within it.

The king followed that counsel, and the next day, with such as were of his household, the king rode to the castle of Flint and entered in without making any semblance to make any war, but to abide there and to defend the castle if they were assailed.

Then the Earl of Derby, when he knew it, determined to ride thither and to do so much as to have the king either by force or by treaty. So the Earl departed from the army, and rode with two-hun-

The Coming of Lancaster

dred men to the castle, where the king was among his men right sore abashed.

The Earl came riding to the castle gate, which was fast closed, as the case required; the Earl knocked at the gate: the porters demanded who was there.

The Earl answered, "I am Henry of Lancaster: I come to the king to demand mine heritage of the Duchy of Lancaster; shew the king this from me."

Then these news were shewed to the king: the king then regarded such as were about him, and demanded what was best to do.

They said, "Sir, in this request is no evil; ye may let him come in to you with twelve persons in his company, and hear what he will say; ye must dissemble till the matter be approved."

The king agreed to those words. Then two knights went down to the gate and opened the wicket, and issued out and made reverence to the Earl, and spake fair and said, "Sir, what is your pleasure? the king is at Mass: he hath sent us hither to speak with you."

"I say," quoth the Earl, "ye know well I ought to have possession of the Duchy of Lancaster: I am come in part for that cause, and also for other things that I would speak with the king of."

"Sir," quoth they, "ye be welcome: the king would be glad to see you and to hear you, and hath commanded that ye come to him all only with twelve persons."

Froissart in Britain

The Earl answered, "It pleaseth me well."

So he entered into the castle with twelve persons, and then the gate closed again, and the rest of his company tarried without.

How King Richard yielded himself to the Earl of Derby to go to London.

Now consider what danger the Earl of Derby was in; for the king then might have slain him and such as were with him, as easily as a bird in a cage: but he feared not the matter, but boldly went to the king, who changed colours when he saw the Earl.

Then the Earl spoke aloud without making any great honour or reverence, and said, "Sir, are ye fasting?"

The king answered and said, "Yea; why ask you?"

"It is time," quoth the Earl, "that ye had dined, for ye have a great journey to ride."

"Why, whither should I ride?" quoth the king.

"Ye must ride to London," quoth the Earl, "wherefore I counsel you eat and drink, that ye may ride with the more mirth."

Then the king, who was sore troubled in his mind, and in a manner afraid of those words, said, "I am not hungry; I have no lust to eat."

Then such as were by, who were then glad to flatter the Earl of Derby, for they saw well the matter was like to go diversely, said to the king,

The Coming of Lancaster

"Sir, believe your cousin of Lancaster, for he will nothing but good."

Then the king said, "Well, I am content; cover the tables."

Then the king washed and sat down and was served.

Then the Earl was demanded if he would sit down. He said no, for he was not fasting.

In the mean season, while the king sat at dinner, who did eat but little, his heart was so full that he had no lust to eat, all the country about the castle was full of men of war. They within the castle might see them out at the windows, and the king, when he rose from the table, might see them himself.

Then he demanded of his cousin what men they were that appeared so many in the fields.

The Earl answered and said, "The most part of them be Londoners."

"What would they have?" quoth the king.

"They will have you," quoth the Earl, "and bring you to London and put you into the Tower. There is none other remedy; ye can scape none otherwise."

"No?" quoth the king; and he was sore afraid of those words, for he knew well the Londoners loved him not, and said, "Cousin, can you not provide for my surety? I will not gladly put me into their hands, for I know well they hate me, and have done long, though I be their king."

Froissart in Britain

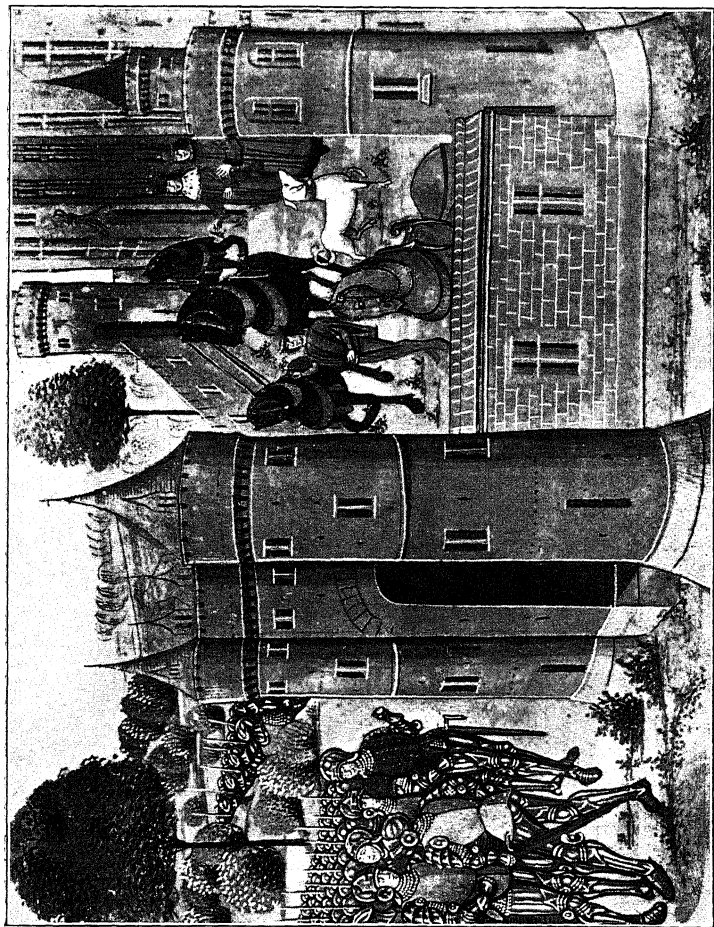
Then the Earl said, "Sir, I see none other remedy, but to yield yourself as my prisoner; and when they know that ye be my prisoner, they will do you no hurt: but ye must so ordain you and your company to ride to London with me and to be as my prisoners in the Tower of London."

The king, who saw himself in a hard case, all his spirits were sore abashed, as he that doubted greatly that the Londoners would slay him. Then he yielded himself prisoner to the Earl of Derby, and bound himself and promised to do all that he would have him to do. In like wise all other knights, squires, and officers yielded to the Earl, to escape the danger and peril that they were in; and the Earl then received them as his prisoners and ordained immediately horses to be saddled and brought forth into the court, and the gates opened.

While everything was a-preparing, the king and the Earl communed together in the court, and were well regarded by the Londoners.

And as it was informed me, King Richard had a greyhound called Math, who always waited upon the king and would know no man else; for whensoever the king did ride, he that kept the greyhound did let him loose, and he would straight run to the king and fawn upon him and leap with his forefeet upon the king's shoulders. And as the king and the Earl of Derby talked together in the court, the greyhound who was wont to leap upon the king, left the king and came to the Earl of Derby, Duke

KING RICHARD SURRENDERING TO HENRY OF DERBY



The Coming of Lancaster

of Lancaster, and made to him the same friendly countenance and cheer as he was wont to do to the king.

The Duke, who knew not the greyhound, demanded of the king what the greyhound would do.

"Cousin," quoth the king, "it is a great good token to you and an evil sign to me."

"Sir, how know you that?" quoth the Duke.

"I know it well," quoth the king; "the greyhound maketh you cheer this day as king of England, as ye shall be, and I shall be deposed. The greyhound hath this knowledge naturally; therefore take him to you; he will follow you and forsake me."

The Duke understood well those words, and cherished the greyhound, who would never after follow King Richard, but followed the Duke of Lancaster. So every man leapt a-horseback and departed from the castle of Flint and entered into the fields.

Thus Duke Henry of Lancaster, who was no more called Earl of Derby, but Duke of Lancaster, rode by the king, and oftentimes they talked together, and men of war before and behind in great number, and all such as were of the king's court rode together in a company. The Duke of Lancaster led King Richard by no castles nor good towns, for fear of stirring of the people, but always kept the fields.

Then they took the way to Windsor and came

Froissart in Britain

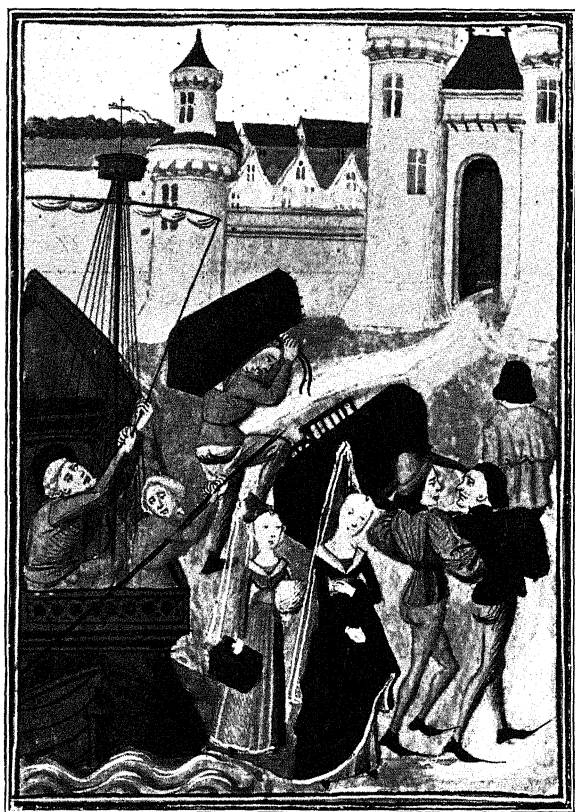
thither; and most part of the Londoners returned to London, and others to their own places.

The Duke of Lancaster departed from Windsor and would not ride by Colbrook, but took the way by Staines and so came to dinner to Chertsey. The king had desired the Duke that he should not bring him London way nor through the city, and therefore they took that way.

As soon as they had the king thus in their hands, they sent notable persons to the young queen, who was at Leeds in Kent, and they came to the Lady de Courcy, who was second person there next to the queen, and said to her, "Madam, make you ready, for ye must depart hence: and at your departing make no semblance of displeasure before the queen, but say how your husband hath sent for you and your daughter also. This that we say, look that you do accomplish on pain of your life, nor ask ye no questions no further, and ye shall be conveyed to Dover and there have a ship that shall bring you to Boulogne."

The lady, who feared those words, for she knew well Englishmen were cruel and hasty, said, "Sirs, as God will, I am ready to do as ye will have me."

Anon she made her ready, and horses were provided for her and for her company. So all French men and women departed, and they were conveyed to Dover; and at the next tide they took shipping and had good wind and so arrived at Boulogne.



THE DAME DE COURCY BRINGING SAD NEWS TO FRANCE

The Coming of Lancaster

How King Richard of England resigned the crown and the realm into the hands of the Earl of Derby, Duke of Lancaster.

Now let us return to speak of King Richard. When the Duke of Lancaster had set his cousin King Richard in the Tower of London, and certain of his councillors, and had set sure keeping on them, it was shewed him how Richard of Bordeaux desired to speak with him.

The Duke in an evening took a barge and went to the Tower by water, and went to the king, who received him courteously, and humbled himself greatly, as he that saw himself in great danger, and said, "Cousin of Lancaster, I regard and consider mine estate, which is now but small, I thank God thereof. Any more to reign or to govern people or to bear a crown, I think it not; and as God help me, I would I were dead by a natural death, and that the French king had again his daughter. We have had as yet no great joy together, nor since I brought her into England I could never have the love of my people as I had before.

"Cousin, all things considered, I know well I have greatly trespassed against you and against other noble men of my blood; by divers things I perceive I shall never have pardon nor come to peace. Wherefore with mine own free and liberal will I will resign to you the heritage of the crown

Froissart in Britain

of England, and I require you take the gift thereof with the resignation."

When the Duke heard that he said, "Sir, it is convenient that part of the three estates of the realm be called to these words, and I have sent already for some noble men, prelates, and councilors of the good towns of England, and I trust they will be here within this three days, sufficient of them for you to make due resignation before them, and by this means ye shall greatly appease many men within the realm. For to withstand such enormities and evils as have been used in the realm for default of justice which had no place to reign, I was sent for from beyond the sea; and the people would crown me, for the renown runneth through England that I have more right to the crown than ye have.

"For when our grandfather King Edward the Third did choose and make you king, the same was then shewed him; but he loved so his son the prince, that none could break his purpose nor opinion, but that you should be king. And if ye would have followed the steps of your father the prince, and have believed his counsel, as a good son ought to have done, ye might have been still king and have continued your estate. But ye have always done the contrary, so that the common renown runneth through England and in other places, that ye were never son to the Prince of Wales; and because mine uncle of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel did counsel you truly and faithfully to keep the

The Coming of Lancaster

honour of the realm and to follow the steps of your ancestors, ye have traitorously caused them to die. As for me, I have long taken on me to defend your life as long as I may, for pity, and I shall pray the Londoners and the heritors of them that ye have slain and banished, to do the same."

"Cousin, I thank you," quoth the king; "I trust more in you than in any other."

"It is but right that ye so should do; for if I had not been, ye had been taken by the people and deposed with great confusion and slain, by reason of your evil works."

King Richard heard well all the Duke's words, and wist not what to say against it, for he saw well that force nor arguments could not avail him, but rather meekness and humility: wherefore he humbled him and prayed the Duke to save his life.

When the Duke of Lancaster had been at the Tower two hours with King Richard and had shewed him part of his faults, then he returned. And the next day he sent forth more commandments into all parts of the realm, to cause noble men and others to come to London.

His uncle the Duke of York came to London, and the Earl of Rutland his son, the Earl of Northumberland and the Lord Thomas Percy his brother; the Duke of Lancaster made them good cheer. Thither came also great number of prelates and abbots.

And on a day the Duke of Lancaster, accom-

Froissart in Britain

panied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons, and knights, and with the notablest men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted.

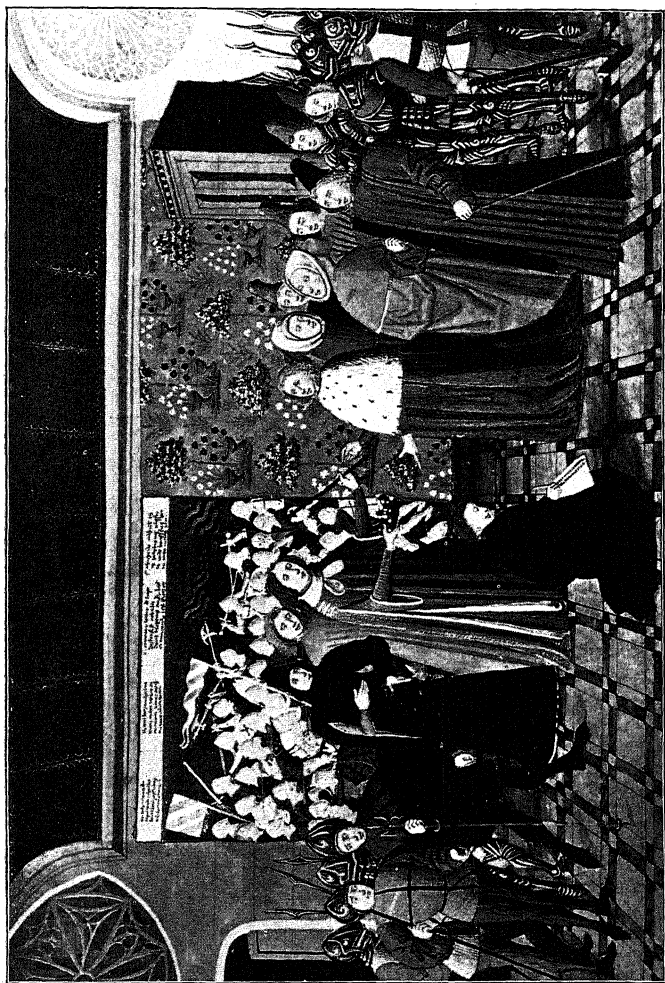
Then King Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of state, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head.

Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by no man, and said aloud, "I have been king of England, Duke of Aquitaine, and Lord of Ireland, about twenty-two years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown and heritage, I clearly resign here to my cousin Henry of Lancaster: and I desire him here in this open presence, in entering the same possession, to take this sceptre:" and so delivered it to the Duke, who took it.

Then King Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands, and set it before him and said, "Fair cousin, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending."

The Duke of Lancaster took it, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took it out of the Duke's hands.

This resignation thus done, the Duke of Lancaster called a notary and demanded to have letters and witness of all the prelates and lords there being present. Then Richard of Bordeaux returned again into the chamber from which he came.



KING RICHARD RESIGNING THE CROWN OF ENGLAND

The Coming of Lancaster

Then the Duke of Lancaster and all others leapt on their horses, and the crown and sceptre were put in a coffer and conveyed to the Abbey of Westminster, and there kept in the treasury. And every man went to their lodgings and abode till the day of parliament and council should be at the Palace of Westminster.

Of the coronation of King Henry, Duke of Lancaster, by the consent of the realm, and the manner of the feast.

In the year of our Lord God a thousand three hundred fourscore and nineteen, the last day of September, on a Tuesday, began a parliament at Westminster holden by Henry, Duke of Lancaster; at which time there were assembled prelates and clergy of the realm of England a great number, and also dukes, earls, and barons, and of every town a certain.

Thus the people assembled at Westminster, there being present the Duke of Lancaster, and there the same Duke challenged the realm of England and desired to be king by three reasons: first by conquest, secondly because he was heir, and thirdly because Richard of Bordeaux had resigned the realm into his hands by his free will in the presence of certain dukes, earls, prelates, and barons, in the hall within the Tower of London.

These three causes shewed, the Duke of Lan-

Froissart in Britain

caster required all the people there present, as well one as other, to shew their minds and intents in that behalf. Then all the people with one voice said that their will was to have him king, and how they would have none other but him.

Then the Duke again said to the people, "Sirs, is this your mind?" And they all with one voice said, "Yea, yea."

And then the Duke sat down in the siege royal, which seat was raised up in the hall and covered with a cloth of state, so that every man might well see him sit. And then the people lifted up their hands a-high, promising him their faith and allegiance.

Then the parliament concluded, and the day was taken for his coronation on St. Edward's Day, the Monday the thirteenth day of October: at which time, the Saturday before his coronation, he departed from Westminster and rode to the Tower of London with a great number.

And that night all such squires as should be made knights the next day, watched; they were to the number of forty-six; every squire had his own bath by himself; and the next day the Duke of Lancaster made them all knights at the Mass time. Then had they long coats with strait sleeves furred with minever, like prelates, with white laces hanging on their shoulders.

And after dinner the Duke departed from the Tower to Westminster, and rode all the way bare-

The Coming of Lancaster

headed, and about his neck the livery of France. He was accompanied with the prince his son, and six dukes, six earls, and eighteen barons, and in all, knights and squires, a nine hundred horse: then the king had on a short coat of cloth of gold after the manner of Germany, and he was mounted on a white courser, and the garter on his left leg.

Thus the Duke rode through London with a great number of lords, every lord's servant in their master's livery, all the burgesses and Lombards merchants in London, and every craft with their livery and device.

Thus he was conveyed to Westminster. He was in number a six thousand horse, and the streets were hanged as he passed by; and the same day and the next there were in London running seven conduits with wine, white and red.

That night the Duke was bathed, and the next morning he was confessed and heard three Masses, as he was accustomed to do; and then all the prelates and clergy came from Westminster Church to the palace, to fetch the king with procession.

And so he went to the church a procession, and all the lords with him in their robes of scarlet furred with minever, barred on their shoulders according to their degrees: and over the king was borne a cloth of state of blue with four bells of gold, and it was borne by four burgesses of the Cinque Ports, as Dover and others; and on every side of him he had a sword borne, the one the sword of the Church

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and the other the sword of Justice: the sword of the Church his son the prince did bear, and the sword of Justice the Earl of Northumberland did bear, for he was the Constable of England, for the Earl of Rutland was deposed from that office: and the Earl of Westmoreland, who was Marshal of England, bare the sceptre.

Thus they entered into the church about nine of the clock: and in the midst of the church there was a high scaffold all covered with red, and in the midst thereof there was a chair royal covered with cloth of gold. Then the king sat down in that chair, and so sat in state royal, saving he had not on the crown, but sat bareheaded.

Then at four corners of the scaffold the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed unto the people how God had sent them a man to be their king, and demanded if they were content that he should be consecrated and crowned as their king. And they all with one voice said "Yea," and held up their hands promising him faith and obeisance.

Then the king rose and went down the scaffold to the high altar to be consecrated; at which consecration there were two archbishops and ten bishops; and before the altar there he was despoiled of all his vestures of state, and there he was anointed in six places, on the head, on the breast, and on the two shoulders behind, and on the hands. Then a bonnet was set on his head; and while he was anointing, the clergy sang the Litany and such

The Coming of Lancaster

service as they sing at the hallowing of the font.

Then the king was apparelled in churchman's dress like a deacon, and then they put on him shoes of red velvet in manner of a prelate, and a pair of spurs with a point without a rowel: then the sword of Justice was drawn out of the sheath and hallowed, and then it was taken to the king, who did put it again into the sheath: then the Archbishop of Canterbury did gird the sword about him. Then St. Edward's crown was brought forth, which is arched above in form of a cross, and it was blessed, and then the Archbishop did set it on the king's head.

After Mass the king departed out of the church in the same state, and went to his palace; and there was a fountain that ran by divers branches white wine and red.

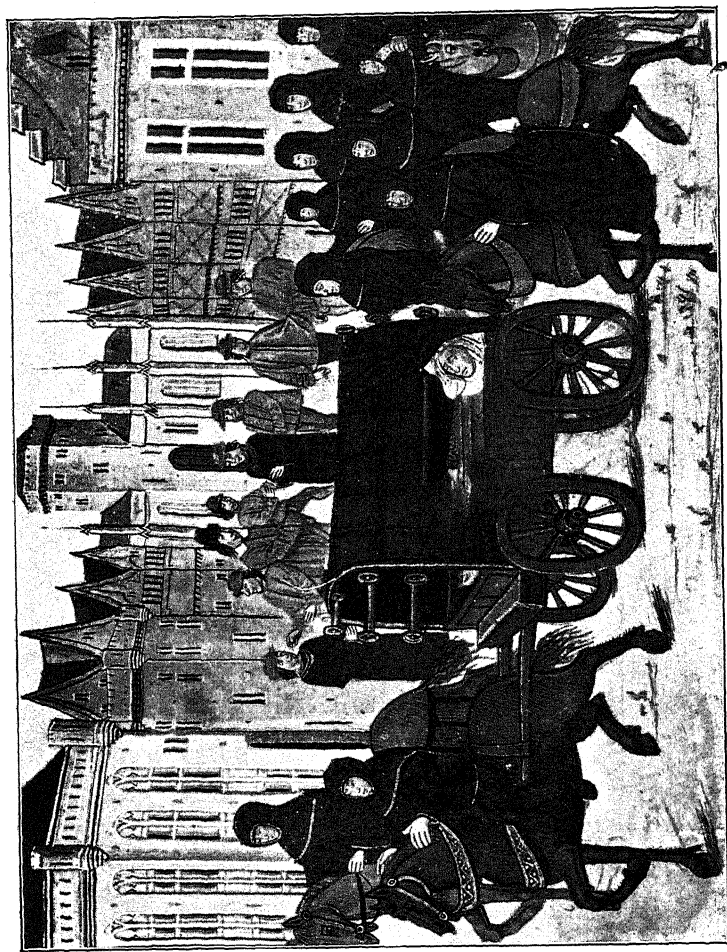
Then the king entered into the hall, and so into a privy chamber, and after came out again to dinner. At the first table sat the king, at the second the five orders of peers of the realm, at the third the valiant men of London, at the fourth the new made knights, at the fifth the knights and squires of honour; and by the king stood the prince holding the sword of the Church, and on the other side the Constable with the sword of Justice, and, a little above, the Marshal with the sceptre, and at the king's board sat two archbishops and seventeen bishops.

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And in the midst of the dinner there came in a knight who was called Dymoke, all armed, upon a good horse richly apparelled, and he had a knight before him bearing his spear, and his sword by his side, and his dagger. The knight took the king a bill, the which was read. Therein was contained, that if there were either knight, squire, or any other gentleman, that would say that King Henry was not rightful king, he was there ready to fight with him in that quarrel, before the king or where it should please him to appoint. That bill was cried by an herald in six places of the hall and in the town. There was none that would challenge him.

When the king had dined, he took wine and spices in the hall, and then went into his chamber. Then every man departed and went to their lodgings.

Thus the day passed of King Henry's coronation with great joy and feast, which endured all the next day.



THE FUNERAL OF RICHARD, KING OF ENGLAND

XII

THE END OF KING RICHARD

Of the death of King Richard of England, and how of two diverse sayings both were true.

It was not long after that true tidings ran through London, how Richard of Bordeaux was dead; but how he died and by what means, I could not tell when I wrote this chronicle. But this King Richard dead was laid in a litter and set in a car covered with black baudkin, and four horses all black in the car, and two men in black leading the car, and four knights all in black following.

Thus the car departed from the Tower of London and was brought along through London fair and softly, till they came into Cheapside, where the chief assembly of London was, and there the car rested the space of two hours. Thither came in and out more than twenty thousand persons, men and women, to see him where he lay, his head on a black cushion and his visage open. Some had on him pity, and some none, but said he had long deserved death.

Thus when King Richard had lain two hours in

Froissart in Britain

the car in Cheapside, then they drove the car forward: and when the four knights that followed the car afoot, were without London, they leapt them on their horses, which were there ready for them, and so they rode till they came to a village called Langley, a thirty mile from London; and there this King Richard was buried. God have mercy on his soul!

I have not as yet shewed you what became of the Earl Marshal, by whom first all these tribulations began in the realm of England; but now I shall shew you. He was at Venice, and when he knew that King Henry was king and King Richard taken and dead, he took thereof so great displeasure and sorrow that he laid him down on his bed and fell in a frenzy, and so died. Such mischievousness fell in those days upon great lords of England.

Now consider well, ye great lords, kings, dukes, earls, barons and prelates, and all men of great lineage and puissance; see and behold how the fortunes of this world are marvellous, and turn diversely. This King Richard reigned king of England twenty-two year in great prosperity, holding great state and seignory. There was never before any king of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I, Sir John Froissart, Canon and Treasurer of Chimay, knew it well; for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer, because that in my youth I was clerk and servant to

The End of King Richard

the noble King Edward the Third, his grandfather, and with my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, his grandam: and when I departed from him it was at Windsor, and at my departing the king sent me by a knight of his, called Sir John Goulouffre, a goblet of silver and gilt weighing two mark of silver, and within it a hundred nobles, by the which I am as yet the better, and shall be as long as I live; wherefore I am bound to pray to God for his soul, and with much sorrow I write of his death; but because I have continued this history, therefore I write thereof to follow it.

In my time I have seen two things: though they differ, yet they be true. I was in the city of Bordeaux, and sitting at the table, when King Richard was born, the which was on a Tuesday, about ten of the clock. The same time there came where I was, Sir Richard Punchardon, Marshal then of Aquitaine, and he said to me, "Froissart, write and put in memory that now my lady princess is brought abed with a fair son on this Twelfth day, that is the day of the Three Kings, and he is son to a king's son that is a king, and he shall be a king."

This gentle knight said truth, for he was king of England twenty-two year; but when this knight said these words, he knew full little what should be his conclusion. And the same time that King Richard was born, his father the prince was king of Galicia, the which King Don Peter had given him, and he was there on his way to conquer the realm.

Froissart in Britain

Upon these things I have greatly imagined since, for the first year that I came into England into the service of Queen Philippa, King Edward and the queen and all their children were then at Berkhamstead, a manor of the Prince of Wales beyond London. The king and the queen were come thither to take leave of their son the prince and princess, who were going into Aquitaine; and there I heard an ancient knight talk among the ladies, and he said, "There is a book which is called "Le Brut," and it saith that neither the Prince of Wales, eldest son to the king, nor the Duke of Gloucester, should ever be king of England, but the realm and crown should return to the house of Lancaster."

There I, John Froissart, author of this chronicle, considering all these things, I say these two knights, Sir Richard Punchardon and Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, said both truth: for I saw, and so did all the world, Richard of Bordeaux twenty-two year king of England, and afterward the crown returned to the house of Lancaster, and that was when King Henry was king, the which he had never been if Richard of Bordeaux had dealt amiably with him; for the Londoners made him king because they had pity on him and on his children.